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Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-90-072
Friday
13 April 1990

Daily Report
Soviet Union

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Moiseyev Rejects Nuclear Test Moratorium

PM1104170690 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 14, 8 Apr 90 p 1

[Interview with USSR First Deputy Defense Minister and Chief of General Staff, Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, by Aleksandr Makhov; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction: "Alternative to Costly Blasts Exists"]

[Text] Reports about the possible transfer of the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site to an island in the Arctic, Novaya Zemlya, have triggered protests inside this country as well as from our Nordic neighbours: Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland. Aleksandr Makhov interviewed First Deputy Minister of Defence of the USSR and Chief of the General Staff, Army General Mikhail Moiseyev.

MN: In light of these protests, would it be possible to introduce a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests?

M.M.: No, given the current reality. To remind you, the Soviet moratorium on nuclear blasts lasted for 18 months during which the United States continued to perfect its nuclear means. The United States is continuing that policy and, to all appearances, is not going to abandon it. The realization of the SDI programme is impossible without continued tests, because it involves nuclear weapons of a new generation, which operate on different physical principles. In this situation, our unilateral refusal to continue tests could irredeemably damage the USSR'S defense potential.

MN: Judging from Western sources, the weapons in question are so- called "third generation", those meant to deal a first strike which cannot be retailated by traditional nuclear means. Would it be sensible for the USSR to spend giant resources to create something similar, and to get involved in yet another spiral of the arms race, which would further destabilize the international situation?

M.M.: We have to resort to retaliatory measures just to maintain the process of destabilization. We must perfect our weapons and upgrade their resistance to the enemy's new weapon, thus maintaining a strategic parity. We are fully aware that this is very costly. The only alernative would be a bilateral nuclear test ban.

Draft Protocol on Inspectors Submitted in Vienna

LD1204174190 Moscow TASS in English 1714 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Vienna April 12 TASS—At a regular full-delegation meeting here today at the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe, Ambassador Klaus-Dieter Ernst, the leader of the delegation of the German Democratic Republic, on behalf of all Warsaw Treaty member states, submitted a draft protocol on inspections in connection with a treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe.

The document determines a procedure for inspections and verification of compliance with the first conventional arms accord which is expected to be signed this year at a summit meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) participating states.

The importance of the protocol is emphasised by the fact that, according to some estimates, 120,000 units of weapons are subject to reduction during the implementation of the treaty. The protocol is also to guarantee that the remaining military arsenals will not be built up.

'TASS Comment' on Chemical Weapons Ban Talks

LD1204191590 Moscow TASS in English 1837 GMT 12 Apr 90

["Soviet-U.S. Talks on Chemical Weapons' Ban—TASS Comment"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev:

There is ground to believe that at the 15th round of Soviet-U.S. consultations, which began in Geneva, on the problems of banning chemical weapons, participants will succeed in finalising by the time Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush meet the drafting of a bilateral agreement on the Soviet Union's and the United States' obligations to destroy a considerable part of their arsenals of toxic agents.

Bilateral consultations between the Soviet Union and the United States are held simultaneously with the drafting of a convention on a full ban on chemical weapons and on the elimination of their stocks. The drafting of the convention is involving representatives of 40 countries.

The purpose of the consultations is to reach an accord on reducing the stocks of Soviet and American chemical weapons by 80 per cent, down to equal levels, before an international convention enters into force.

The success of consultations was promoted by the Soviet-U.S. shipboard summit off Malta, during which President Bush promised in particular not to obstruct the demand for an end to the production of U.S. binary chemical weapons.

After the recent meetings with U.S. leaders in Washington, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said the prospect has now emerged for expediting the process of drafting a convention to ban chemical weapons.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker pointed out that the two sides achieved a great success as regards a ban on chemical weapons and that the success would manifest itself vividly in the specific results of the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit.

It seems that chemical weapons could be eliminated at a more rapid pace than is provided for by the U.S. plan.

The United States suggests extending the process of full elimination of toxic agents for ten or even more years. A number of important provisions of the future international convention on chemical weapons are yet to be specified at the talks in Geneva.

However, there are no doubts that successful conclusion of bilateral Soviet-U.S. consultations on chemical weapons and the signing of an agreement at the Soviet-U.S. summit on a considerable reduction in the arsenals of chemical weapons would give a powerful impulse to the process of elaborating an international convention, ruling out the threat of chemical war in the world.

Gremitskikh Hold 13 Apr Briefing on World Issues

Unified Germany in NATO

LD1304133590 Moscow TASS in English 1316 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 13 TASS—NATO membership of a unified Germany is unacceptable for the Soviet Union, a Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Yuriy Gremitskikh made this comment in reply to a question about statements by the new prime minister of the German Democratic Republic, Lothar de Maiziere. News agencies allegedly quoted De Maziere as telling journalists that considering the forthcoming renunciation of current NATO strategy, a unified Germany will be a member of NATO until the creation of a European security system.

The Soviet side on many occasions, including at the highest level, set out its clear-cut position on the ideas of Germany membership of NATO, Gremitskikh recalled.

"I would like to repeat the relevant passage from an article in the May issue of the NATO'S 16 NATIONS magazine by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze: 'For us Germany membership of NATO is unacceptable. So, a compromise variant will perhaps have to be found'."

'Very Good' Relations With Cuba

LD1204150890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1337 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, 12 Apr (TASS)—At a briefing in the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry today, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, described relations between the USSR and Cuba as "very good."

In reply to a question he said that the USSR and Cuba have well developed relations, including economic ones. In accordance with bilateral treaties which have been concluded, the USSR not only trades with Cuba but also gives it aid of various kinds. "Of course, just as before, we intend to fulfill our obligations in accordance with the treaties which have been concluded," the diplomat added.

Yuriy Gremitskikh described the further "improvement of relations" between the two countries aimed at bringing Soviet-Cuban economic ties to "a higher level of profitability and mutual advantage" as "a normal formulation of the matter." The diplomat said talks are being held with the Cuban side on these aspects and added that "the Cuban comrades are interested in raising the level of Soviet-Cuban relations and receiving mutual benefit from them."

Having said that during the implementation of bilateral relations difficulties are naturally being met by the Soviet and the Cuban sides, for example, in "implementing deliveries", Yury Gremitskikh at the same time stressed that "there is no political ill-will" behind this or "any other political decisions." In connection with this the representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry recalled that "literally a few hours ago Cuban Foreign Minister Isidora Malmierca noted that Soviet-Cuban relations are very good." "I can only concur with that assessment," he added.

East European Summit

LD1204151490 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh, at a briefing here today, described the meeting of Czechoslovak, Hungarian, and Polish leaders, held in Bratislava on the initiative of Vaclav Havel, as a significant event in the life of the European continent.

The objectives and tasks of the meeting were outlined by the Czechoslovak president. At present it is difficult to give a comprehensive assessment of the meeting's results, because other speeches were not made public, Gremitskikh said.

However, he continued, "we believe that the ideas set forth by Havel, which focus on setting up a commission for European security, are in line with common efforts to create new security structures in Europe."

"The Bratislava meeting shows the growing desire of East European countries to play a more active part in the creation of the all- European home and to pool efforts in tackling their problems," he added.

Situation in Afghanistan

LD1204154690 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—In Afghanistan, the signs of increased activity of the rebels, including the shelling of residential areas of Afghan cities, have again manifested themselves, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing here today.

Today alone, he said, seven people were killed and 17 wounded as a result of missile bombardment of Kabul. In order to stop the bombardment of Kabul, Afghan Armed Forces are conducting combat operations in Paghman district adjacent to the republic's capital, with the use of air, missile and artillery strikes.

A former Soviet serviceman, Aleksey Tikhonov, was freed on April 7 when units of the Afghan Armed forces carried out a combat operation in Baghlan Province, Gremitskikh said.

At the Afghan Foreign Ministry on April 10, Tikhonov was handed over to the Soviet Embassy. He has been in captivity since June 1989. Tikhonov will return to the Soviet Union soon.

Afghan archeological artifacts are being taken out of the country with the aid of the Afghan rebel leaders, Gremitskikh said. In paritcular, he said with reference to Radio Afganistan that several British archeologists had arrived in Nangarhar Province under the guard of Afghan rebel groups. They are engaging in excavations there in breach of all international norms.

The archeological group has already unearthed eight artifacts that are of historical value. A report came from the same province on Wednesday that four persons of Arab origin made an attempt to buy the Afghan people's archeological and historical valuables for 800,000 Pakistani rupees and to take them out of the country but encountered a rebuff on the part of the local population, Gremitskikh said.

Scientific Conference in Japan

LD1204173190 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—The Soviet Union prioritises the international conference "Trends in Science and Technology: Consequences for World Peace and Security" organised by the United Nations Organisation. The conference will be held on April 16-19 in the city of Sendai, Japan, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh said at a briefing here today.

"We proceed from the assumption that science and technology should be an important factor in the transformation of international relations and the settlement of modern global problems," he pointed out.

Gremitskikh said that the Soviet delegation to the conference would be led by Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy, who would make a report "New Technologies and the Ensurance of Security: Prospects After the 'Cold War'".

He will also hold meetings and talks at the Japanese Foreign Ministry, Gremitskikh added.

Disarmament in Middle East

LD1304154790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1359 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, 13 Apr (TASS)—Moncef el-May, a representative of the League of Arab States in the USSR, visited the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 11 April and handed over a statement adopted by the council of ambassadors of Arab countries in Moscow in connection with the whipping-up in Western countries and Israel of threats against Iraq. Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, reported on this at a briefing today.

In a statement, Arab ambassadors noted the similarity of the present situation with Israel's attack on the Iraqi nuclear research center in 1981, and expressed apprehension that the purpose of the anti-Iraqi political campaign is a preparation for new aggression. It also notes that this uproar is helping Israel to strengthen the occupation of Arab lands and throttle the Palestinian intifadah, and is encouraging it to disrupt efforts for a just settlement of the conflict in the Middle East.

It was declared to the League of Arab Nations representative, said Yuriy Gremitskikh, that the Soviet Union expresses concern at the growing arms race in the Middle East, which threatens catastrophic consequences in the event of a new military explosion in this region. At the same time it is clear, he added, that a striving to lay responsibility for the situation that has arisen on Arab states contradicts the actual state of affairs and can produce an extremely negative effect.

The Soviet side considers that the task of ending the arms race in the Middle East as soon as possible and of limiting armaments there is becoming most urgent today, the representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry stressed. The Soviet Union has frequently expressed its opinion about the need to mobilize the efforts of all the states of the Middle East and the international community as a whole in order to set about freeing that region from nuclear, missile, chemical, and other types of mass annihilation weapons. Of course, this should be done in parallel with the unblocking of the Arab-Israeli conflict, in the general context of progress toward a just and all-embracing peace based on a balance of interest of all the sides.

The USSR notes with satisfaction the interest expressed by the Arab countries in creating a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East, Yuriy Gremitskikh continued. One cannot but welcome as well the readiness confirmed by Iraqi President Saddam Husayn to admit representatives of the IAEA to conduct inspections at the Iraqi nuclear facility. "We also consider that Israel should adhere to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and place its nuclear activity under International Atomic Energy Agency guarantee," the Soviet diplomat added.

"We also call on all countries of the Middle East to conduct matters actively toward concluding as rapidly as possible a multilateral convention on banning and totally destroying chemical weapons without linking this with other problems of disarmament, talks on which are not at such an advanced a stage as the talks on the convention to ban chemical weapons," the representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry said.

TASS Reviews Briefing

LD1204184190 Moscow TASS in English 1817 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh, at a briefing here today, described the meeting of Czechoslovak, Hungarian and Polish leaders, held in Bratislava on the initiative of Vaclav Havel, as a significant event in the life of the European continent.

"The Bratislava meeting shows the growing desire of East European countries to play a more active part in the creation of the all- European home and to pool efforts in tackling their problems," he said.

Touching upon the programme of the stay of Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski in the Soviet Union, Gremitskikh said that the Polish leader will meet Mikhail Gorbachev on April 13, after which Soviet-Polish talks will be held. On the same day Jaruzelski will have a visit to the USSR Supreme Soviet and meet the leadership of the Academy of Sciences.

In answer to a question in connection with the murder of the Soviet consul in Suriname, Gremitskikh said that the diplomat was killed on his way to the airport. His car was overtaken by a taxi. Two or three people emerged from the taxi and, firing at point blank range, killed the diplomat.

Surinamese police have already apprehended three suspects who ostensibly confessed the murder for the purpose of robbery, the spokesman added. The Soviet Embassy established contacts with appropriate authorities and investigation is under way.

In Afghanistan, the signs of increased activity of the rebels, including the shelling of residential areas of Afghan cities, have again manifested themselves, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing here today.

Today alone, he said, seven people were killed and 17 wounded as a result of missile bombardment of Kabul. In order to stop the bombardment of Kabul, Afghan Armed Forces are conducting combat operations in Paghman District adjacent to the repubic's capital, with the use of air, missile and artillery strikes.

A former Soviet serviceman, Aleksey Tikhonov, was freed on April 7 when units of the Afghan Armed Forces carried out a combat operation in Baghlan Province, Gremitskikh said.

At the Afghan Foreign Ministry on April 10, Tikhonov was handed over to the Soviet Embassy. He has been in captivity since June 1986.

In answer to journalists' questions, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman confirmed that an invitation was conveyed to President Husni Mubarak of Egypt to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union. A date for the visit is being decided upon, the spokesman added.

Commenting on Western media reports that Vietnamese officials ostensibly told American representatives at a seminar in Indonesia about the possibility of restoring U.S. military presence in Cam Ranh Bay, Gremitskikh said, "Cam Ranh is a sovereign territory of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and, in our view, this matter is within the competence of Vietnamese authorities."

A new movement, set up in the Soviet Union, for the restoration of natural resources and the revival of morality was introduced within the framework of the briefing.

Alim Chabanov, chairman of the movement, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet and general director of the Rotor scientific and production amalgamation, told journalists that the movement was set up on the basis of a sponsoring group of industrialists, including the Ecoprom Consortium which includes enterprises capable of manufacturing resource-saving equipment.

The movement's programme now includes about 120 latest technological elaborations by means of which it is possible to resolve a considerable part of problems.

Offers are already coming in from foreign entrepreneurs about the purchase of ecologically clean technologies, Chabanov said.

World Media Association Conference Ends 12 Apr

LD1204221390 Moscow TASS in English 1832 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—The eleventh conference of the World Media Association ended its work here today with a joint sitting of the Summit Council for World Peace and the Association for the Unity of Latin America.

The conference was attended by journalists, former heads of state and government, and other prominent public, political and religious figures from over 40 countries.

It is stressed in its final document that revolutionary restructuring in the Soviet Union is of a world and historic significance and positively influences processes all over the world.

Participants in the forum highly assessed the Soviet leadership's policy in the sphere of civil rights and freedoms. They supported its activities aimed at consolidating principles of democracy and the climate of confidence and detente on the planet.

They also noted the necessity to promote multilateral ties between the Soviet Union, the United States and other Western countries and establish cooperation between developed industrial countries and developing countries, including Latin America.

Participants in the conference expressed hope that Soviet perestroyka will help establish a new world order based on the principles of equal partnership, mutual benefit and non-interference, the document reads.

Soviet perestroyka has reaffirmed the necessity to invigorate integration processes in Latin America and to broaden trade and economic cooperation between Latin American countries and the Soviet Union and East European countries.

Delegates from Brazil, Spain, Canada, Thailand, the Philippines and Japan spoke of the necessity to lower the level of confrontation in the world, to cease arms shipments to developing countries and to carry out joint measures to protect the environment and to plan families.

They called on the United Nations Security Council to support Soviet-U.S. dialogue aimed at eliminating mass destruction weapons and at creating and strengthening a system of universal peace and security.

One of perestroyka's merits is that humanity, due to unilateral Soviet initiatives, is on the road to settling the arms race problem, a Canadian representative said.

According to speakers from Latin America, perestroyka has revealed that integration processes in the region are slow. Assessing the Soviet Union's positive role in the construction of a common European home, former Presidents Luis Herrera Campins of Venezuela, Luis Echeverria of Mexico and Belaunde Terry of Peru pointed out that Latin American countries integration into a federation is possible.

Perestroyka is a gift to all people of good will striving for good neighbourly relations and peace, Herrera Campins said. Latin Americans were given a lesson of integration, which could help make the continent a "common Latin American home".

After the conference, a group of Soviet statesmen and politicians, including members of the Presidential Council Aleksandr Yakovlev and Yuriy Osipyan and PRAVDA newspaper editor-in-chief Ivan Frolov, were awarded orders of freedom and unity by the board of directors of the Association for the Unity of Latin America.

Further on Gorbachev Meeting With Mediamen

PM1304121590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 90 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report: "Perestroyka Belongs to the Whole World. Meeting in Kremlin"]

[Text] President of the USSR Mikhail Gorbachev received in the Kremlin 11 April participants in the conference of the World Media Association, the World Peace Council, the Association for the Unity of Latin America, and representatives of the executive committee of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers, meetings of which have taken place in Moscow. Those taking part included a large group of former presidents and heads of governments, eminent scientists, businessmen, political and public figures, and journalists.

Speaking about the work of the world conference of mass information media, (J.M. Chaves) president of the Association for Latin American Unity and of the Supreme Council for Universal Peace, expressed an assessment, common to all its particpants, of the processes of renewal in the life of Soviet society and their influence upon international development. Perestroyka, he stressed, is a powerful force that has radically changed the world. It closes off once and for all the "cold war" period. All of mankind is in debt to Soviet perestroyka, for it rejects the use of force and declares persuasion and thought to be the main thing. Perestroyka lends new meaning to democracy and opens the frontiers of freedom. It gives rise to a feeling of hope throughout the world.

We have been the witnesses of the titanic efforts which are being made in the implementation of the ideas of perestroyka and glasnost, said Luis Echeverria Alvarez, a former president of Mexico. Your country has won the ideas of perestroyka through suffering. It reflects very deep processes. What you have conceived is revolution in revolution. The Soviet Union is at a stage of transition and is therefore experiencing difficulties. But this is a progressive path, it is pointing into the future, towards the ascent to a high level. We believe in Soviet perestroyka, we believe that the problems which you are encountering will be resolved.

Soviet perestroyka today is not just the internal affair of the USSR, said Amin al-Jummayil, the former president of Lebanon, addressing Mikhail Gorbachev. You were the initiator of perestroyka, you began this great process; but it no longer belongs exclusively to you. Today perestroyka belongs to the whole world.

Sun Myung Moon, the founder of the World Media Association, stressed in his address that the spirit of perestroyka and glasnost is winning over the hearts, minds, and souls of all people on earth.

Our decision to meet in Moscow is deeply political in character, noted Giovanni Giovannini, president of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers, in his speech. We have spent some wonderful days in your capital and have convinced ourselves that the Soviet Union has embarked firmly upon the path of glasnost and freedom of the press.

Mikhail Gorbachev made a speech concluding the meeting. He said:

I am pleased with what I have heard here, I am pleased with the broad political and philosophical approach to the examination of the problems of perestroyka and the new thinking. The importance of such discussion also grows because taking part in it have been major state figures from Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. That is the first point.

Secondly, we must all realize that we are at a stage in the development of mankind that is a turning point. Without understanding this we will let slip a historic chance for achieving a better destiny. Despite the multiplicity of the forms of development of each of the countries, their national, religious, and other traditions, we belong to one civilization.

I would like to support once again the thought that has been expressed here that perestroyka does not belong to us alone. In this one can see a weighty argument in favor of the view that everyone needs it, that it has become a part of present-day world development. The idea of perestroyka was born through the realization that it was impossible to live in the old way. Outwardly this is a simple thought; but it has led us to the restructuring of the political system, to the process of democratization, to the recognition of values common to the whole of mankind while remaining true to the socialist choice. This is the right of all people—to stand up for their own choice.

The idea of revolutionary perestroyka is the cause not just of one particular group of Soviet society—it the cause of the whole people, it is an idea common to the whole nation.

No doubt you ask the question: At what stage is the Soviet society that is undergoing perestroyka?

I'll tell you frankly, we are at the most difficult, critical stage. Resolutely changing the economy, carrying out a radical political reform, renewing our federation, reinterpreting our history, and reforming the party, we have set the whole of our society in motion.

We have, as it were, emerged from the old administrative-command system, but have not yet entered the new one. Hence the difficulties which, in order to overcome, we must accelerate our movement. In a week, in a month, we now cover a distance which other societies have taken decades to cross by the evolutionary path. Enormous intellectual efforts are required in order to implement radical reforms correctly. This is not a simple task under any circumstances, but especially so in a country of nearly 300 million people.

Today our Soviet society is the most politicized society in the world. In the atmosphere of this politicization you cannot get by without clashes of ideas and sometimes confusion. Hence the vital necessity to have hard landmarks and to grasp firmly the helm of state leadership.

I have the feeling that our society is emerging from the mass-meeting stage and is joining in the process of real deeds. And in this we see the possibiility for the further radicalization of perestroyka.

I thank you for your words of solidarity with our perestroyka, for the high assessment of the efforts of the peoples of the USSR. I am convinced that we have no way back, that all of our problems can only be solved by moving forward and by renewing all aspects of the life of society.

Having embarked upon perestroyka, we looked in a new way at the world as a whole and at our own place in that world. With such an approach the ideas which we have called the new thinking in international affairs were born.

Upon the basis of a careful analysis, we came to the conclusion that it was impossible to go on living in the old way. The political philosophy of the period of the cold war, the hatred, and the arms race wore mankind out. The confrontation between the USSR and the United States and the growing nuclear threat had a devastating effect not only upon the peoples of our two countries but upon all of mankind. The urgent problems of the Third World and issues of world ecology took on a global character.

We live in a single, contradictory but interconnected world. It seems to me that we are only at the beginning of the movement towards a new world order. Its structure is still fragile and vulnerable. Hence our common need and our common responsibility to actively promote the strengthening and development of the new thinking.

I am convinced that everything we have conceived will become a reality. The new thinking is raising up enormous forces. The shaping of a new epoch is taking place. Taking part in this process are not only professional politicians, but the broad public and deep strata of the people.

This is the spirit in which I assess your meetings and conferences in Moscow which have discussed questions that concern everyone.

'Rimpac' Fosters Doubts About U.S. Intentions

PM1204144590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Apr 90 First Edition p3

["Observer's Column" by A. Golts: "...But the 'Rim' Is Not Weakening"]

[Text] I think that many observers specializing in the problems of security in the Asia-Pacific region are finding themselves in a rather difficult position. Obviously, sooner or later the general warming of the international climate will make itself felt in this region of the globe as well. I would very much like to be able to point to the first signs of this process, which could cardinally change the military-political situation in Asia and the Pacific.

These hopes could have become reality at the beginning of April. I am referring to U.S. Secretary of Defense R. Cheney's report to Congress. The press is already calling it the "East Asian strategic initiative." It contains the proposal to close down several U.S. bases in Asian countries and also to reduce the U.S. troops deployed there by 10 percent. We are talking about 10,000-15,000 servicemen.

It might have seemed that Washington was about to take the first step toward reducing military confrontation in Asia. However, there soon followed events which fostered doubts about the Pentagon's intentions. I am referring to the "Rimpac-90" ("Pacific Rim-90") maneuvers now under way. Fifty modern warships and more than 250 aircraft from the U.S., Japanese, South

Korean, Canadian and Australian navies will rehearse naval engagements, seek out "enemy" submarines, and practice assault landings until 20 May in the region between California and the Hawaiian Islands. The United States is represented by a strike group led by a battleship and aircraft carrier formation from the 3d Fleet, while Japan is represented by 10 modern ships and antisubmarine aircraft.

Naval exercises in this series have been conducted once every two years for almost 20 years, so some might feel that it is wrong to draw political conclusions from the mere fact that these exercises are being held. However, these multilateral maneuvers, in which the United States involves its NATO allies, serve, in my opinion, as a quite clear indicator of the military-political situation in the Pacific.

Let me remind you that Japan first became involved in these maneuvers exactly 10 years ago. This was the prologue to a rapid buildup in its military might and to Tokyo's assuming broader functions within the framework of the U.S.-Japanese military alliance. Within a year the Japanese navy was tasked with monitoring a 1,000-mile around the Japanese islands and blockading the three Far Eastern straits "in an emergency."

Now South Korea is making its debut in the "Rimpac" exercises. At the moment its participation is more symbolic than anything else: Just two frigates have been sent to the Hawaiian Islands. In my view, however, the political significance of this step is more considerable. While participating with the Americans in many military enterprises, South Korea has until now refrained from joint exercises with Japanese troops. Because in that case many in the region would see the formation in practice of a Washington-Tokyo-Seoul military triangle—or, in other words, the creation of yet another military bloc.

So what they did not dare to do in the eighties, when confrontation was at its toughest, they are doing now, in a period of easing tension. Of course, Seoul's explanations—which amount to saying that, with expanding foreign trade operations, South Korea has a greater need to guarantee the safety of its sea-lanes—are hardly convincing. In our era you are more likely to ensure the safety of your ships by refusing to take part in naval exercises rather than by agreeing to do so.

There is no doubt that South Korea has been drawn into "Rimpac" by Washington. After all, Cheney is proceeding from the premise that the cuts in U.S. forces will be made in parallel with a buildup in the military might of the United States' closest allies, including South Korea. In this respect the U.S. capital believes that this approach will secure the United States the role of political as well as military leader in the region. That is why the Pentagon is endeavoring to gather all its allies under its charge in the course of the "Rimpac" maneuvers (even bigger maneuvers, "Pacex," were held last fall).

So, despite some signs of positive change, it has to be said that the "rim" of military preparations still has the Asia-Pacific region in its grip.

Ex-NATO Secretary General on European Changes

LD1204201490 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—"The unification of two German states is an internal German problem," former NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns believes.

Luns is participating in Moscow's 11th conference of the World Media Association.

"One should be ready for German unification," he said in a TASS interview today.

"In the West they do not think that Helmut Kohl, Hans-Dietrich Genscher and the West German Government are nurturing expansionist designs, he said.

But what will the 80-million-strong Germany do in 20-30 years, when a new generation, who did not know war, comes into power? he queried.

Assessing changes within NATO, Luns said that the North Atlantic alliance had shifted its attention away from the military towards politics. In its framework there is a large civilian secretariat and political questions are on the agenda practically every working day. Almost all NATO decisions must be taken unanimously.

"There are certain prerequisites for the establishment of an all-European security system," Luns said. The USSR is not aggressive, neither are Western countries, he said. The NATO defensive system does not have sufficient military facilities to be aggressive, Luns noted.

The former NATO secretary-general praised the Soviet proposal on cuts in NATO and Warsaw Treaty troops and expressed hope that the response to the initiative would be positive.

Speaking about a meeting between participants in the conference and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Luns said that they received detailed information on the Soviet leadership's policy. He said he was impressed by the sincerity with which Soviet President Gorbachev conversed with them.

United States & Canada

U.S. Senators Visit Moscow, Meet With Leaders

Hold Talks With Gorbachev

PM1304121190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition 13 Apr 90 p 1

[TASS report: "USSR President's Conversation With U.S. Senators"]

[Text] On 12 April Mikhail Gorbachev received a group of U.S. Senators at his presidential office in the Kremlin today. The group, led by Senate Democratic Majority Leader George Mitchell, included John Glenn, Paul Sarbanes, Jim Sasser, Bill Bradley, Wyche Fowler and Thomas Daschle.

Proceeding from the fact of how important it is for authoritative U.S. representatives to realistically appreciate what is actually going on in the USSR, and what the stances of its leadership are, M.S. Gorbachev outlined the situation frankly and in broad terms, and described the measures that are currently being taken to achieve a breakthrough, above all in economic development.

This moment is the most trying moment in perestroyka. Perestroyka was not somebody's invention, but a carefully considered choice, one that has become vital for the nation.

Attempts to better the social and economic situation from the very beginning ran into the prevalence of the administer-by-command system. Radical political reform was needed, and it has made it possible to abandon the system, creating at the same time the modern world's most politicised society.

But we do not yet have a new system, it has not yet taken shape. This middle stage explains the difficulties and popular concern and is a cause of discontent. It has become necessary to expedite economic transformation. This is among the reasons behind the early adoption of an executive-style presidency, and also its priority task.

Such was in general the objective logic of perestroyka. It also determined the evolution of policies, which, however, could not escape miscalculations and mistakes due to the novelty of what was happening and due to the lack of experience and knowledge.

The turn is enormous. It takes time. But the main thing now is to pass the transitional period as quickly as possible. As we look for all solutions and all answers, we shall seek to keep processes within the democratic framework, although some of them overstep it in some respecets.

We shall move only forward, towards new forms of life, ruling out attempts to relapse into the former system and into former methods.

Soviet-American relations and efforts to improve them should proceed from this. In America, Gorbachev said, they should be interested in perestroyka's success.

Mitchell and other Senators confirmed this, referring to the opinion of political circles and most Americans.

Agreeing that for the most part the international significance of perestroyka is realised in America, Gorbachev called attention also to other judgements counting on a weakening of the Soviet Union and to some congressional resolutions, which give reason for Soviet people to view them as interference.

The situation at strategic nuclear arms reduction talks was among the topics discussed. Without going into detail, Gorbachev singled out the problems of air- and sea-launched cruise missiles as the principal difficulties. However, he brushed aside recent doubts in the United States about Soviet determination to take all measures for a treaty halving strategic offensive arms to be initialed in June.

It is simply that a more careful consideration of all issues is required now lest difficulties arise later. It is essential therefore to rule out a situation which could be misused to gain unilateral advantages.

Having set the date for the meeting, we need to act more energetically. There is little time left. I gave instructions to speed up work, Gorbachev said. We shall present our considerations by James Baker's visit in May. We hope that he will not come with empty hands either.

The senators asked the president to comment on Lithuania.

Ignoring the fact that the Soviet Union as a multinational federation is going through a most crucial phase in its development, the incumbent Lithuanian leaders, he said, have taken provocative, adventurist action. They put everyone in an unthinkable situation. We are demonstrating patience and self-control. If, for instance, we accepted that the USSR is for them an 'alien state', the population of Lithuania would find themselves in a gravest situation within the next two or three days.

The Third Congress of People's Deputies reaffirmed the right to self-determination, including secession from the USSR. But this must be a constitutional process. The situation should be returned to what it was on March 10, so that only then, by law and with regard for the interests of all, problems be sorted out and solutions found.

First of all, the Lithuanian people should be asked themselves, through a referendum, about their attitude to two possible options: remaining part of a radically updated federation as an independent sovereign republic or leaving.

But the latter option will take years and have inevitable grave social, economic and other consequences. People should know everything about it. Lithuanian leaders, in the meantime, adopt one illegitimate act after another and take provocative action, leaving ever less room for political approaches.

We do not need to be convinced that political methods are better. Not everything depends on us, however. And Senators, like Americans in general, should realise this and avoid giving lectures. They might prompt resentment in our society, affecting Soviet-American relations, Gorbachev said.

And we value these relations. We treasure everything done to improve them, including by the American side. The Americans also have something to treasure among the gains made on this path. Too much hinges on Soviet-American understanding both for us and for you, and for all.

We favour cooperation with the United States in every field. Valuable capital has been made in these areas recently. It should be augmented and nothing of it should be wasted.

Gorbachev pointed to the important role played by the U.S. Senate and personally by a number of senators in constructively developing relations with the USSR and to the significance of broadening contacts between Congress and the the Supreme Soviet and direct meetings between Soviet and American parliamentarians.

As he parted with the Senators after the meeting, which was marked by good will and sincerity, Gorbachev asked them to convey his greetings to George Bush and assure him that in Moscow they are preparing for the visit to the United States and that Gorbachev not only expects Bush to meet him halfway but thinks it imperative for himself to do likewise. The movement should be reciprocal.

Yevgeny Primakov, Aleksandr Dzasokhov, Georgy Arbatov, Anatoliy Dobrynin and U.S. Ambassador Jack Matlock also took part in the conversation.

Speak With Shevardnadze

LD1204193190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1744 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, 12 April, (TASS)—As the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed a TASS diplomatic correspondent, during the conversation which took place today between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and the group of U.S. Senators headed by George Mitchell, leader of the Democratic majority, the main attention was given to the problems of disarmament and the situation in Europe in the light of the movement towards the unification of Germany.

The USSR foreign minister evaluated highly on the talks which he had last week in Washington with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and the meeting in the White House with President George Bush. The sides once again affirmed that Soviet-U.S. relations are developing successfully, and are characterized not only by mutual understanding but also by cooperation.

The USSR foreign minister expressed confidence that by the time of the visit of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to the United States, one will succeed in resolving all the fundamental questions of the reduction of strategic offensive weapons, which would make it possible to ratify the relevant treaty.

Touching upon the difficulties which the sides came up against during the discussion of some aspects of this problem in Washington Eduard Shevardnadze said: "I know from experience that there can be dramatic situations at the concluding stages of talks, as was the case, for instance, in drawing up the treaty on medium- and short-range missiles. I do not doubt that a solution can be found given the efforts of both sides."

In the examination of concrete questions, the minister stressed, it is important to observe the following principles: parity; the arms race should cease; limits ought to be imposed on the development of arms in all sectors.

In discussing questions of the situation in Europe, the USSR foreign minister stressed the importance of sychronizing the construction of German unity with the formation of European security structures. With regard to the latter, the Soviet Union has proposed a number of concrete ideas: that is the creation of a center to avert the danger of war, the holding of annual pan- European conferences at summit level, and the institutionalizing of a committee of foreign ministers of the 35 countries which would regularly examine the main problems of European development. All states must take up a defensive doctrine which would be implemented in conditions of the strictest verification [kontrol].

The minister stressed the unacceptability of the membership of a united Germany of NATO. He noted that other, even unorthodox versions, must be sought here. The Senators also raised the question of the situation around Lithuania. Having affirmed the adherence of the Soviet leadership to the policy of dialogue, Eduard Shevardnadze, in particular, expressed the hope that the representatives of Lithuania will accept the invitation sent to them and will come to Moscow to participate in the sitting of the Council of the Federation.

Give News Conference 12 Apr

LD1204182790 Moscow TASS in English 1808 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—Visiting members of the U.S. Congress have described their meetings with representatives of the Soviet leadership as "interesting and informative."

Speaking at a news conference here today, George Mitchell, the leader of the democratic majority in the U.S. Senate, the head of the U.S. delegation, pointed out that three subjects mainly were discussed today during a two-hour-long meeting between Soviet President

Mikhail Gorbachev and the U.S. Senate delegation: economic reforms in the Soviet Union, arms control and the situation in Lithuania.

Mitchell said that, in his view, Gorbachev is inclined to going ahead with economic reforms. The senator said that during the meeting the Soviet leader described the current stage of perestroyka as decisive and told the U.S. senators that a number of new economic reforms are to be discussed at a meeting of the USSR Presidential Council at the end of this week.

Speaking of arms control, Gorbachev emphasised the Soviet Union's determination to seek progress in this field so that an agreement on a 50 per cent cut in strategic offensive arms could be initialled at the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington and signed before the end of this year, Mitchell said.

Gorbachev also voiced an intention to resolve contradictions that arose in view of the known decision of the Lithuanian parliament "by peaceful, non-violent means", Mitchell said.

The U.S. seantors, for their part, told the Soviet president that the use of force in Lithuania "would have severe consequences" for the development of U.S.-Soviet relations.

Mitchell also described today's meeting between the U.S. Senate delegation and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

The leader of the democratic majority in the U.S. Senate said in particular that Shevardnadze voiced disagreement with the pessimistic evaluation of the U.S. press of the results of his recent meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Washington. The Soviet minister regards the results of the meeting as "highly positive", the senator pointed out.

Hold Discussion With Lukyanov

LD1104170790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1607 GMT 11 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, 11 April, (TASS)—Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, received today in the Kremlim an official U.S. Senate delegation led by Democrat majority leader George Mitchell, which is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In the course of a constructive conversation, which was held in an atmosphere of openness and mutual understanding, matters comprising the agenda for the Soviet-American political dialogue were thoroughly discussed, and the important role played by the two countries' highest legislative bodies in its further advance and in the growth of trust between the USSR and the United States was noted.

Anatoliy Lukyanov dwelt on the processes of renewal that have embraced all aspects of the life of Soviet society and on the changes in its political structure, and talked about the decisions of the extraordinary Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies and about the main directions of the USSR Supreme Soviet's lawmaking activities.

Both sides gave a positive evaluation of the level of Soviet-American relations, voiced satisfaction with the favorable prospects that were opening up for their onward development, and particularly noted the significance of the accord on Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the United States from 30 May—3 June. The new meeting between the Soviet and American presidents, it was noted in the conversation, is intended to expedite the drawing up of historic agreements on strategic offensive weapons, and other important documents.

U.S. Ambassador to the USSR Jack Matlock took part in the conversation.

Exchange Opinions With Yakovlev

PM1204133590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Apr 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "In Atmosphere of Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] On the same day [11 April] A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Presidential Council and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received the U.S. Senate delegation headed by G. Mitchell.

There was a frank, constructive exchange of opinions on topical questions of modern world development, the all-European process, and Soviet-U.S. relations. A.N. Yakovlev answered the U.S. side's numerous questions concerning the course of perestroyka in the Soviet Union and the features of its current stage.

V.M. Falin, chief of the CPSU Central Committe International Department, and J. Matlock took part in the talk.

Meet With Akhromeyev

LD1304090190 Moscow TASS in English 0812 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 13 TASS—A delegation from the U.S. Senate, headed by Democratic Majority Leader George Mitchell, in the Soviet Union on an official visit, today met Sergey Akhromeyev, member of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security issues.

U.S. 'Subversive Action' Over Sheymov Condemned

LD1303095490 Moscow TASS in English 0942 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Washington March 13 TASS—The Soviet Union's charge d'affaires ad interim in the United States

S. Chetverikov made the following statement at a news conference in the Soviet Embassy here on Monday:

In connection with a series of publications in U.S. mass media regarding the press conference on March 2 involving former employee of the Committee for State Security [KGB] Victor I. Sheymov, and his CBS interview on March 5, the USSR Embassy in Washington, D.C., has been authorised to state as follows:

Victor Ivanovich Sheymov, born in 1946, native and citizen of the USSR, did indeed work at some point within the system of the Committee for State Security. After graduating from the Bauman Technical School in Moscow as a mechanical engineer, he was employed by the KGB as a coding equipment maintenance technician. His responsibilities, however, allowed him no access to serious secret information, including documents.

On May 16, 1980, Viktor I. Sheymov, his wife and their five-year-old daughter disappeared in Moscow, and search for them in the USSR territory was inconclusive. The competent Soviet authorities ascertained that the Sheymovs did not cross any of the checkpoints at the Soviet border.

Comparing those facts with the U.S. press accounts about Sheymov and with his own statements about the circumstances surrounding his family's clandestine exit from the USSR, one can contend that what is involved here is an unprecedented—in practice of relations among states—subversive action by the U.S. intelligence involving a smuggling out of a Soviet family, and a gross violation of rules of international law, which is, in fact an act of state terrorism.

There is no doubt that those who organised and carried out this action were directly involved in the attempts to call attention to the Sheymov story through mass media, in an apparent pursuit of the objectives which run counter to the dynamic process of normalisation of U.S.-Soviet relations emerging during the years of perestroika.

Not only the very fact of this hostile action, but also the statements which were put into Sheymov's mouth by the Central Intelligence Agency, have been received in the Soviet Union with clear puzzlement.

Totally untenable and malicious from beginning to end is his assertion about the Committee for State Security's involvement in the affair relating to the attempt on Pope John Paul II's life. The absurdity of this accusation is all the more obvious in view of the fact that the C.I.A. leadership know very well that the KGB had not and could not have anything to do with this heinous crime. Otherwise, in the course of the well-known Rome trial could the U.S. intelligence ignore the testimony of such a "witness" as Sheymov who as it asserts was already in its hands at that period?

Hints about the KGB's involvement in organising the attempt on the life of the late President Ziaul Haq of Pakistan can also be described as wild fiction. Where on earth could Sheymov have got this so-called information, for at that time he was in the United States, and was it not perhaps the C.I.A. that he turned for information to?

Just like any lie, this C.I.A. fake involving Sheymov has "short legs", which once again demonstrates what kind of unsavory activities that organisation is engaged in, and its unscrupulous ploys.

Chernyshev on U.S., USSR Military Maneuvers

LD1204151590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1010 GMT 12 Apr 90

[By Vladimir Chernyshev, TASS observer on military affairs]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Apr (TASS)—The large-scale, mutilateral "Rimpac-90" naval maneuvers, involving 50 ships, about 250 aircraft, and some 50,000 servicemen from the navies and air forces of the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia, and South Korea, have begun in the eastern Pacific Ocean. Of course, this isolated fact might not, in itself, be noteworthy. The point is, though, that it needs to be seen in conjunction with other facts that characterize the military activities and the combat training of the armed forces of the United States and its allies in NATO, and other military- political alliances, and also in comparison with the present combat training of the armed forces of the USSR and its allies.

It must be indicated straightaway that, since adopting its new defensive doctrine, the Soviet Union has significantly limited its military activities. Bearing in mind the changed military-political situation in the world, the USSR sees no need to carry out major military exercises. The number of major exercises held by the combined armed forces of the Warsaw Pact has been falling every year. Thus, 25 such exercises were held in 1987, 21 in 1988, 14 in 1989, and, in the current year, it is planned to hold only seven, which is one-third less than, for example, NATO envisages holding.

The total number of troops taking part in exercises during the year, and in each of them, is 33-50 percent smaller in the Warsaw Pact than in NATO. The duration of the exercises of the Warsaw Pact armed forces is smaller by roughly the same proportion. The same applies to USSR naval exercises, too, the number of which, as well as the composition of the forces involved, has also been considerably reduced. Over the last few years, the numbers of military-service forces and means and of alert duties at sea have been cut by roughly one-third. Soviet submarines are no longer sent to areas adjacent to the U.S. coast. In the Indian Ocean the presence of Soviet ships has been reduced from 14-17 to 3-5 units. The measures taken to limit the scale of military activity, in conjunction with a realistic handling of defensive tasks, confirm the desire to refrain from the demonstration of force and military activity on a scale that might arouse the other side's concern.

Unfortunately, this cannot be said of the military activities and military exercises conducted by the United States and its allies. Annual maneuvers like "Autumn Forge," "Team Spirit," and so on, are taking on an increasingly dangerous character. Specifically, taking part in the U.S. Armed Forces' "Pacex-89" exercise in the Pacific Ocean were 200,000 men, over 500 aircraft, and up to 100 warship and other craft, including four aircraft carriers. Another fact is also noteworthy—the expansion of the numbers of participants in the maneuvers. Specifically South Korea has been involved for the first time in the curent "Rimpac-90" maneuvers.

If one evaluates as a whole the totality of the maneuvers carried out under the auspices of the United States, then it must be bluntly stated that the itensity of the operational and combat training of the armed forces, especially of the Navy and the Air Force, is dangerously high. It continues to be maintained, on the whole, at the level of previous years, and even exceeds it as regards a number of indicators. Such intensity of the training process outstrips the needs of defense. Moreover, the manuevers carried out are hard to distinghish from the real deployment of the armed forces for a war eventuality. In the view of the Soviet General Staff, maneuvers on such a scale are needed not for the handling of defense tasks, but for training the bodies controlling troops and naval forces that are launching a large-scale offensive. All this cannot fail to give rise to serious concern.

'Chill' Between United States, Britain Noted

LD1304083590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Report on the upcoming meeting in Bermuda between U.S. President George Bush and UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher by correspondent Sergey Levskiy]

[Text] the forthcoming Soviet-American summit, the question of European security, the situation in NATO, and the prospects for bilateral relations will be at the center of talks between the leaders of the United States and Great Britain. Margaret Thatcher, prime minister of Great Britain, considers it necessary to discuss with the American President the problems connected with unification of Germany. Margaret Thatcher does not conceal her concern at the strengthening of cooperation between Washington and Bonn against the background of a weakening of the close allies' relations which traditionally have linked Great Britain and the United States over the past decade.

What is the reason for the chill? The prospects of unification of Germany have forced Washington to introduce amendments to its foreign policy and to activate contacts with West Germany. Moreover, Great Britain is gradually losing its former authority in European affairs. In economic respects, it has been overtaken by Italy, and Spain is rapidly catching up. Thatcher's desire to increase Great Britain's nuclear potential reflects the mood which was present in world politics yesterday rather than today. Her calls for preserving NATO's military potential go against the plans of George Bush to reduce the American military presence in Europe. Recent domestic policy events in Great Britain have raised many questions in the United States—mass protests against the rise in taxes, the unrest in prisons, the drop in popularity of Thatcher's policies. Particular significance is attached to the meeting both in London and in Washington, both from the point of view of the prospects of the development of world politics and of bilateral relations.

Comparison of Report on Bush Remarks

LD1204131190

Moscow TASS in English at 1244 GMT on 12 April transmits a report from Washington on President Bush's reaffirmation that the United States will not grant diplomatic recognition to Lithuania. This report has been compared with the item headlined "Bush Says U.S. Not To Recognize Lithuania," published in the 12 April issue of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 10, and found to be identical but with the addition of the following passage after the last paragraph:

"We have been disappointed with the official policy of the United States which is unwilling to recognise the Vitautas Landsbergis government," Anthony Mazeika, vice-president of the Freedom League of Baltic Americans, said after the White House meeting.

Bush, having expressed sympathy with their cause nevertheless said he should also take account of other questions on the agenda (of Soviet-American relations) and also his own opinion that it is necessary to support Gorbachev's democratic reform efforts, Mazeika said.

At a Wednesday meeting with representatives of business circles, First Deputy Secretary of State Laurence Eagleburger said that the United States was not going to give any direct assistance to Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

At the symposium, Eagleburger, who coordinates programmes of U.S. assistance to East European countries, informed businessmen about Washington's stand on U.S. participation in the activities of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Northeast Asia

MPRP Delegates Endorse Trends, Platform

LD1204210690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] The extraordinary congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] is continuing its work in Ulaanbaatar.

At the evening briefing in the press center it was announced that the delegates had endorsed the main trends of the party's policies for the coming period, the tasks for the renewal of the MPRP, the platform, and the charter of the party.

The congress also adopted the decision to transform the Politburo into Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Presidium. Henceforth the leader of the state and the head of the government will not be members of it.

Mongolia's Ochirbat Reaffirms Loyalty to Socialism

LD1304041190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0343 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 13 Apr (TASS)—We will not leave the socialist path for developing Mongolian society. A renewal of the concept of socialism is taking place during the process of perestroyka. We are for a humane, democratic socialism, Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat, chairman of the Mongolian People's Republic Presidium of the Great People's Hural, stated in reply to questions from Japanese journalists. The newspaper UNEN [TRUTH] has published the full text of his conversation with correspondents from the newspaper ASAHI SHIMBUN and the KYODO news agency.

At present in the Mongolian economy, state property predominates. During the process of economic reform the development of a variety of forms of property and a reasonable combination of planned and market mechanisms of management are planned, the head of the Mongolian state stressed.

Mongolian Daily UNEN Becomes MPRP Paper

LD1004135290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0628 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 10 Apr (TASS)—The status of the Mongolian newspaper "UNEN" ("TRUTH"), the organ of the MPRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party], has changed in the 70th year of its publication. A new issue of the newspaper is published today, the day the MPRP extraordinary congress opens. For the first time it is issued as the main press organ of the whole party.

This decision was adopted yesterday by the MPRP Central Committee Politburo, which discussed matters of restructuring the publishing activity in the country. It was decided to separate party and state publications.

The new newspaper carries a new motto: "For the prosperity of beloved Mongolia."

Vice Foreign Minister Receives DPRK Official

SK1004135090 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 9 Apr 90

[News from "Annals of Friendship" program]

[Text] Vladimir Petrovskiy, vice foreign minister of the Soviet Union, received Kim Hui-sun, DPRK charge d'affaires ad interim to the Soviet Union, and conversed with him on the issues of mutual interest and discussed the issue of securing peace on the Korean peninsula and the relations between the Soviet Union and Korea.

Kim Chong-il Nomination for SPA Reported

SK0604131390 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 5 Apr 90

[From the "Asian News" program under the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] After the father Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee and president of the DPRK, the son Kim Chong-il has become the second candidate for the SPA [Supreme People's Assembly] scheduled for 22 April. He is a member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau, and secretary, of the WPK Central Committee Political Bureau. According to THE KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY, a meeting of voters in the Musan Election District cordially nominated him as a candidate for the country's highest legislature.

North Korea's Election Nominations Reported

PM0904120190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent V. Lukashin: "Father and Son First Candidates"]

[Text] Pyongyang—The KCNA news agency has reported that elections to the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly of the ninth convocation will be held 22 April.

The nomination of candidate deputies has begun in the country. Kim Il-song, general secretary of the WPK [Workers Party of Korea] Central Committee and president of the DPRK, has been nominated the republic's first parliamentary candidate, for Nagwon electoral district. "The great leader of our party and people, Comrade Kim Il-song is the genius of the revolution, a legendary hero, and the sun of the nation," says the appeal from the voters of Nagwon machine building association.

Kim Il-song's son, Kim Chong-il, who now holds the post of member of the WPK Central Committee Politburo Presidium, member of the party Central Military Commission, and secretary of the WPK Central Committee in the DPRK, is called the "dear [lyubimyy] leader." As is well known, he has been officially declared Kim Il-song's successor.

"Inasmuch as the revolution continues from generation to generation," I was told by Yang Hyong-sop, chairman of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly, "then the leader should be replaced according to the same principle. If the leader's successor has been badly prepared, that would be a catastrophe. But this problem does not exist for us inasmuch as alongside the great leader [velikiy vozhd] there is the dear leader [velikiy rukovoditel]—a man who posseses in full the qualities of a leader [lider]..."

The nomination of candidate deputies is continuing.

Paper Refutes Kim Yong-sam Statement on Ties

SK1004135190 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 7 Apr 90

[From the "Asian News" program under the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Now we will present the article by the commentator of NODONG SINMUN. In this article, he commented on the result of visit to Moscow by Kim Yong-sam, co-leader of the Democratic Liberal Party in the Republic of Korea.

This newspaper refuted the statement by the South Korean politician that the improvement of the state relations between the Soviet Union and South Korea will play an important role on the path to the reunification of Korea and to ensuring peace in the Asian-Pacific region.

The paper pointed out that according to Kim Yong-sam's logic, Korea has not been reunified because the Soviet Union did not recognize South Korea. The paper, did not however, stress that the reunification of Korea, in actuality, has not been achieved due to the maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists.

The author then asks if the improvement of state relations between the Soviet Union and South Korea would result in the withdrawal of the U.S. troops from South Korea.

The paper pointed out that the Soviet Union is the first nation to recognize the DPRK as the only legitimate state of the Korean people and the treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance is closely linking our two countries.

The author said that South Korea is still under the U.S. occupation and therefore, South Korea is a colony subjugated to the U.S. imperialists politically, economically, and militarily.

He emphasized that it is clear that under the circumstances in which the U.S. Armed Forces with enormous nuclear potential are stationed in South Korea, peace cannot be pursued in Korea nor can the Soviet proposal for guaranteeing peace and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region be realized.

Japan, U.S. Impede Asia-Pacific Arms Talks

PM1204104190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Apr 90 First Edition p 5

[Article by Colonel V. Chernyshev, candidate of technical sciences: "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back. Disarmament in Asia-Pacific Region and Japan's 'Strange' Attitude"]

[Text] Addressing the budget commission of the Japanese parliament's lower chamber, Yozo Ishikawa, head of Japan's National Defense Agency, said that a Soviet military threat still exists in the Asia-Pacific region. In the present circumstances this claim sounds more than a little strange to me.

The Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, the elimination of more than 400 intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles in line with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, the unilateral cuts of 200,000 servicemen in the east of the country (including 120,000 in the Far East), the reduction of Soviet troops in Mongolia, the reduction of the Soviet presence in the Vietnamese port of Cam Ranh.... Surely all this is evidence of the new thinking in practice.

Another statement by the head of the National Defense Agency is also surprising: According to him, the Soviet Union is totally wrapped up in resolving its internal problems and is not in a position to discuss questions of disarmament in the Asia-Pacific region at present. "Because of its ethnic and other problems," Ishikawa claims, "the Soviet Union now appears to be in a position that does not allow it to reach out its hand to the Asia-Pacific region." Here again the head of the Japanese military department is clearly at variance with reality.

The measures proposed by M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, designed to curtail the nuclear arms race in the Asia-Pacific region, reduce naval and other arms there, and strengthen confidence in the military sphere, have been augmented and developed into a streamlined system which embraces the different aspects of the region's demilitarization and the development within it of relations of good-neighborliness and cooperation. On 15 January this year, at a meeting with the head of a Japanese Liberal Democratic Party delegation, Shintaro Abe, the Soviet leader reaffirmed his commitment to this system. The initial features of the Soviet proposals are a call for a Pacific conference along the lines of the Helsinki conference that will involve all ocean-oriented states; and an invitation to the United States and Japan to take part in devising a mechanism of talks on ensuring regional security.

But what about Japan? Has it contributed anything positive to this process?

I would like to draw attention to several rather contradictory—I would even go so far as to say strange—facts. I will cite just the three most "startling."

Fact number one. At the end of September 1989, at a meeting with the head of the Japanese foreign policy department, Taro Nakayama, in New York, Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze made the following proposal during scheduled Soviet-Japanese consultations at foreign minister level: To hold more detailed talks on questions concerning, in particular, the military confrontation and threat in the Asia-Pacific region. Nakayama rejected this proposal, saying that, in his opinion, "relations of trust are needed to discuss these problems."

Fact number two. In December 1989 the Japanese Foreign Ministry prepared recommendations for Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu which expressed a positive attitude to the Soviet proposal to hold talks on security issues. The Japanese newspaper SANKEI SHIMBUN wrote in this connection: "The Japanese Cabinet has decided in principle to agree to the Soviet idea to hold talks on arms control and disarmament... This decision by the government signifies a change in its previous course and, one could say, demonstrates a desire to further regularize Japanese-Soviet relations."

The Japanese mass media have voiced the supposition that this change of stance is connected with the following assessments of the situation made by the foreign policy department: First, as a result of the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush on Malta the "structure of confrontation" between East and West is undergoing change, which will inevitably also have an impact on the Asia-Pacific region; second, talks on regional arms control and disarmament must begin sooner or later; and, third, as this question will be one of the subjects of discussion at the next consultations between the Japanese and Soviet foreign ministers, the Japanese side should also study the possibility of beginning talks on this question.

Fact number three. In March this year Taro Nakayama said that talks on arms control and disarmament in the Asia-Pacific region along the lines of those being held in Europe must be preceded by a "political solution" of a number of problems, including "the problems of the northern territories" (meaning the group of Soviet South Kuril Islands, to which Japan lays claim), the situation on the Korean Peninsula, and the Cambodia problem. What is more, after consultations with U.S. representatives, it was announced: Tokyo and Washington are of the unanimous opinion that using a system of negotiations in the Asia-Pacific region similar to that in Europe would be "premature." The explanation for this statement was that the military-strategic situation in the Asia-Pacific region is fundamentally different from the situation in Europe.

What could possibly be the explanation for these rapid changes of direction by Tokyo: its refusal to hold talks and even discuss military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region, then its decision to consent to this after all, and then its retreat to its previous stance? It seems to me that the shaping of Japan's policy is evidently influenced to a certain extent by the policy of the U.S. Administration, which does not want to undertake any talks on reducing arms in the Asia-Pacific region.

However, in my view, there is also another reason: "local implications," so to speak. The Japanese National Defense Agency is in the process of putting on the finishing touches to its latest five-year program to develop the country's armed forces. According to preliminary estimates, its implementation will require at least 23 trillion yen. It is planned to use the lion's share of the allocations to equip the Japanese Armed Forces with the very latest types of weapons and military hardware. The process of "thrashing out" the final content of the latest military program will begin in May, when it will be agreed with the country's finance ministry and foreign policy department. How could this astronomical sum be secured if the "Soviet threat" were to disappear and the situation reached the stage whereby talks could begin on reducing military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region?

Near East & South Asia

Arab 'Militants' Try To Attack Aeroflot Jet

LD1304093190 Moscow TASS in English 0914 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Nicosia April 13 TASS—A group of Arab militants tried to attack an Aeroflot jet, carrying Soviet Jewish immigrants to Israel via Cyprus, at Larnaca International Airport.

Police blocked all approaches to the airport and helped passengers get to the Limassol sea port, from where they sailed to Israel. After the vessel left Cypriot territorial waters, it was taken under the protection of Israeli ships.

DFLP Chief Says USSR Visit 'Fruitful'

LD1204175390 Moscow TASS in English 1737 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—"The intifidah will continue until the Israeli troops fully withdraw from the occupied territories and an independent Palestinian state is formed there," Nayif Hawatimah, general secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), told a news conference here today.

He is currently in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

Describing the situation in the occupied lands, Hawatimah pointed out that it is impossible to defeat the intifadah by military methods and that the Israeli Government resigned precisely under the impact of the uprising, Palestinian peace initiatives as well as the international community's support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

"It is utterly clear," the DFLP leader said, "that a new Israeli government, if formed soon, should put forward a new peace programme. The main point of the plan should be to recognise the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

Hawatimah positively assessed the plan by the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker for a Middle East settlement, emphasising that it is aimed at establishing an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue and envisage the convocation of an international Middle East conference.

Hawatimah believes tha the main drawback of Baker's plan is that it does not envisage the participation of a delegation, formed precisely by the PLO and not by any other organisation, in the talks.

Touching upon the issue of emigration and settlement of Jews in the occupied territories, the DFLP leader said international guarantees for banning their settlement in those lands are essential and, if Israel defies decisions taken, sanctions should be applied to it.

The DFLP general secretary referred to his visit to the Soviet Union as useful and fruitful. "The PLO will continue to cooperate with the Soviet Union in working towards a just peace in the Middle East on the basis of a balance of interests and new political thinking," he said.

Former Lebanese President on Current Situation

LD1204180590 Moscow TASS in English 1404 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—A settlement of the Lebanese problem is impossible without an end to the foreign military presence in Lebanon, former Lebanese President Amin al-Jumayyil told TASS.

He is attending the 11th world media conference in Moscow, along with many politicians from more than 40 countries.

Al-Jumayyil favoured the earlist drafting of a schedule to withdraw Israeli troops occupying the south of Lebanon. It is also necessary to achieve reconciliation and revive fraternity between the Lebanese and Syrian peoples, he stressed.

Noting the important role of the United Nations, Al-Jumayyil favoured stepped-up U.N. efforts to defuse the situation in Lebanon.

Speaking about prospects for settling the Palestinian problem, he stressed the importance of beginning talks between Palestinians and Israelis. He noted that if chairman of the Labour Party Shim'on Peres forms a new Israeli Government, the prospects for Palestinian-Israeli talks would improve.

Dealing with the settlement of Soviet Jews on the Israeli-occupied territories, he pointed to the ticklish nature of this problem.

Al-Jumayyil expressed understanding that the Soviet Union assumed some obligations with the start of perestroyka, including free issuance of exit visas.

At the same time one should understand the apprehensions of Palestinians worried by the continued settlement on their primordial lands, which may delay the realisation of the Palestinian people's interests, Al-Jumayyil said.

Commentary Assesses Lukyanov Visit to India

BK1204111990 Moscow in Hindi to India 1400 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Vladimir Ivashin commentary]

[Text] The mass media in India and the Soviet Union have been reviewing the outcome of Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Lukyanov's visit to India. However, let us observe what Radio Moscow commentator Vladimir Ivashin writes in this connection.

Expressing satisfaction with the outcome of his visit to India, Anatoliy Lukyanov said that it was not mere coincidence that as chairman of the Supreme Soviet, he undertook his first visit to India. The Soviet Union [words indistinct] in Europe and Asia and as such, is greatly interested in improving relations with India, where its role is becoming more and more significant. The main objective of the Soviet parliamentary delegation's visit was to carry forward cooperation and improve bilateral relations with India, which commenced with Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to India in November 1986.

In an interview at the end of his visit, Anatoliy Lukyanov described his visit as successful. Issues of the Asia and Pacific Ocean region figured prominently in talks between the Soviet delegation and Indian leaders and Parliament members. India reacted positively to a Soviet proposal to convene an interparliamentary conference on problems in guaranteeing peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region. There was also an exchange of views on the Kashmir issue and ethnic conflicts in the Soviet Union and India. The Soviet delegation described the Kashmir events as India's internal affair, and said the issue should not be internationalized and should be solved according to the 1972 Simla agreement between India and Pakistan. The Soviet Union appreciated the Indian Government's efforts to find a political solution to the issue without using force.

The Soviet delegation had extensive meetings and discussions with representatives of Indian political and industrial circles. During the meetings, the need for strengthening relations not only between the two countries' parliaments, but also between the Soviet republics and Indian states—between official organizations, city soviets, and Indian municipalities, especially between twin cities like Leningrad and Bombay—was stressed. Anatoliy Lukyanov said that during his meetings and discussions with Indian leaders and officials of various levels, the desire to expand cooperation between the two countries was expressed. Lukyanov said that as steps have already been taken in this direction, we should also take active steps for success in all directions.

Iran's Policy Urging Hostages' Release Viewed

TA1204180990 Moscow in Dari to Afghanistan 1500 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary from "The World Today" program]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, as has been reported, the Palestinian Fatah organization-Revolutionary Council has released three Western hostages in Beirut. Our commentator, Yuriy Andreyev, writes the following in this regard:

[Passage omitted] Apparently Abu Nidal's headquarters is near Tripoli and the group led by him is considered to be under Libya's control. Therefore, it is worth noting that a week ago the Libyan JANA news agency disseminated Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi's call for the release of all the hostages, which included the names of Jacqueline Valente and members of her family.

Immediately following the dissemination of this appeal, a statement by the Fatah Organization-Revolutionary Council was issued in which this organization's readiness to accept al-Qadhdhafi's appeal was expressed. Later on these three persons were released. [passage indistinct]

At the same time it must be said that currently Iran's official authorities have adopted a policy aimed at the release of all the Western hostages. Even Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani said at a news conference that the issue of the hostages in Lebanon is nearing the settlement stage. A short time later almost all of Tehran's major newspapers reported that in the view of Iran's official authorities the issue of the Western hostages in Lebanon will be finally solved by the end of 1990.

This fact is also worth noting that on the verge of the release of this French family, the Iranian Embassy in France issued a statement in which it noted that the Iranian Government will spare no effort in aiding the release of the hostages.

Meanwhile on Tuesday the TEHRAN TIMES, which is regarded as close to the government, stressed that the release of Mrs. Valente's family must become a prelude to the release of all hostages. This is the third time in recent months that the TEHRAN TIMES has called for such a measure.

In conclusion, our commentator writes that recently the broadcast of plays about hostage-taking has become a common dizzying phenomenon. These plays contain recordings of dreadful tortures mingled with the wailings of terrified hostages, after which threats of execution are heard. At the same time instances of the voluntary release of hostages are still relatively unique. Perhaps the history of Mrs. Jacqueline Valente's family will really create a good precedent in this respect for the future.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Reforms of Gorbachev, RSA's De Klerk Compared

MB0404112290 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 4 Apr 90

[Igor Potovskiy commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] When speaking of the scales and profoundness of the effect that the present reforms in South Africa exert on the current world politics, Western news media usually find acceptable the sole comparison with the Gorbachev reforms. Analogies usually begin to be drawn when it is stated that the dismantling of the totalitarian system in both countries started with freeing personalities whom the world had been regarding as symbols of opposition to the regimes. Academician Sakharov was a symbol for the Soviet Union, while Nelson Mandela is a symbol for South Africa. Igor Potovskiy on our staff has the following comment:

Analogies are also often drawn with respect to the very development of the reform processes in both countries. The slow start gave ground for doubt as to the genuine desires of the reformers. Now there are evidently no such doubts.

One can, of course, argue whether the reform processes are irreversible, or whether they are bound to yield success. But it would be irrational to call into question the goals they have as their target. Take, for instance, the South African Government. What is dubious is the ability of President de Klerk to secure the peaceful path to attaining his goals, not the genuity of his intentions. On the one hand, the president assures he will put an end to racial discrimination. On the other, he rejects what might seem a natural demand—that is, the one man, one vote principle for a united, democratic South Africa.

He calls for dialogue and talks, and complies partially with the ANC [African National Congress] demands, but at the same time retains the state of emergency. As a result, there are no conditions for talks yet, although the rapidity of the reforms is of paramount importance for De Klerk. In other words, the double standards are apparent, which gives western news media one more pretext for drawing analogies.

Having crossed his Rubicon, Frederik de Klerk immediately found himself under double pressure directed to the extreme opposite. On the one hand, as the British ECONOMIST magazine writes, De Klerk inspires ever more greater hopes in the black population that he, quite like Gorbachev, may fail to live up to or contain within limits. On the other hand, he puts on alert the right-wingers, who are quite powerful, to counteract. The very simple conclusion that can be forthcoming is that the situation holds out no promise, primarily for the reformers themselves. Incidentally, this is the most frequent conclusion.

Gorbachev has made his future bleak as he revoked the Constitution-guaranteed Communist Party's hold on power, while De Klerk made his party's future wear thin, having released Nelson Mandela. If one holds a realistic view, he should not rule out that possibility, but he should also see the other side of the matter. Both President Gorbachev and President De Klerk are the key figures to the reform processes in the two countries; key in every sense of the word.

One can naturally understand why the left-wingers and the right-wingers likewise rebuke the center and accuse it of rash actions. But either Gorbachev's or De Klerk's (?golden) [word indistinct] is the only opportunity to move forward, laying a step behind of the left and a step ahead of the right. This is the only way to stop the divided society short of violence today, whatever contradictory the center's actions might look. [sentence as heard]

And one more reasoning: What should De Klerk's ability to stand up to the rising hopes among the black community be? Justice is never a payoff for the inconsistency in the past. An unjust society cannot be stable if it is not turned upside down. Is there any guarantee that South Africa will gain stability if it turns from the state of apartheid into a unitarian state? This is a disputable question, since there is hardly a single example of a state where unitarianism might provide the grounds for resolving ethnic problems, not to mention complicated racial ones.

There are many more examples of why the opposite is so, the case story of the ethnic issue in the Soviet Union among them. Hardly anyone doubts that the road to bringing down the ethnic vengeance in the USSR lies through expanding the rights of the federation, and not through making the unitarian trends stronger.

Whatever complex the position of President de Klerk, it is far from being helpless. On the contrary, one should probably agree with the British ECONOMIST that De Klerk will be able to create a universally acceptable society in South Africa only by balancing the extremely opposite demands of the blacks and whites. But this is a risky job.

East Europe

Polish President Continues Visit in Soviet Union

Meets Officials in Kiev

LD1204165290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Kiev, 12 Apr (TASS)—Today Valentin Shevchenko, chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet; Vladimir Ivashko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo of the Ukraine; and Vitaliy Masol, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic, met with Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Republic of Poland, who is in the Soviet Union on an official visit.

There was an in-depth exchange of opinions on a broad range of questions. Vladimir Ivashko characterized the sociopolitical and socioeconomic situation in the Ukraine, the prospects of the sovereign development of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic within a renewed federation, and told of new approaches to the expansion of foreign economic ties. Valentin Shevchenko informed the lofty guest of the results of the elections of people's deputies of the republic and of the local bodies of power. Vitaliy Masol touched upon some questions of economic reform and of the implementation of the new principles of management. In his turn, Wojciech Jaruzelski noted that Poland is following with great interest the changes taking place in the Soviet Union, particularly in the Ukraine, and wished perestroyka success. The president dwelt on the problems of the development of Polish society and on the deep transformations in the political and economic structures.

Both sides affirmed the desire to guarantee stability and security on the European continent, to develop economic, scientific and technical, and cultural cooperation between the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Republic of Poland, to expand contacts between people, and to guarantee the national and cultural needs of citizens of Polish nationality in the Ukraine and of Ukrainians living in Poland.

A luncheon was held on behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in honor of the Polish president.

Proposes Toast at Luncheon

LD1204123590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Report on Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski's visit to the USSR by correspondent Marek Kassa]

[Excerpts] President Wojciech Jaruzelski began the second day of his visit to the Soviet Union by laying a wreath at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. [passage omitted] After sightseeing, he met representatives of the Ukrainian Republic. A ceremonial banquet given in honor of the guest by the local authorities is currently in progress. Proposing an official toast, President Wojciech Jaruzelski said there are many common pages of Polish and Ukrainian history, with Poles and Ukrainians as good neighbors. However, there is also no shortage of mutual conflicts, grievances, and hurts; nationality, social, and religious disputes. There are some old, long-healed scars, but there are also newer ones, the memory of which is still fresh. Today, however, what is most important is not what poisoned the blood of kinsmen, but above all, what unites us. Without diminishing our achievements hitherto in economic and scientific-technological cooperation, there is still much to be done. Barriers within the sphere of direct contacts between our peoples are being overcome a bit too slowly, said the president, and this is all the more important since many Ukrainians live in Poland and many Poles live in the Ukraine. We wish for them to be able to take advantage ever more fully of the possibilities of cultivating their own traditions, culture, and national identity, within the framework of the process of our two nations drawing closer. [passage omitted]

Arrives in Moscow

LD1204180790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1625 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski arrived in Moscow from Kiev this evening, on the second day of his official visit to the Soviet Union. He went to the Kremlin directly from the airport. During his stay in Kiev, the president met Valentina Shevchenko, chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet; Vladimir Ivashko, first secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee of that republic; and Premier Vitaliy Masol.

The striving for stabilization and security in Europe was affirmed. It was agreed that the development of Polish-Ukrainian contacts and bilateral cooperation in all spheres should be accelerated. The vital need to facilitate the free movement of the population was stressed. [Moscow TASS in English at 1536 GMT on 12 April reports Jaruzelski's arrival in Moscow noting that "at Vnukovo airport he was welcomed by Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and other officials."]

Welcomed by Gorbachev

LD1204180190 Moscow TASS in English 1656 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—President Wojciech Jaruzelski of Poland arrived in Moscow for an official visit today at the invitation of the Soviet president.

A welcoming ceremony took place at the St. George Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace. Wojciech Jaruzelski and his wife were welcomed by Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife.

Holds Talks With Gorbachev 13 Apr

LD1304071690 Moscow TASS in English 0708 GMT 13 Apr 90

["Urgent—Talks Between Gorbachev and Jaruzelski in Moscow"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 13 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev and President Wojciech Jaruzelski of Poland had a talk in the Kremlin this morning. Full-scale Soviet-Polish negotiations will be held later.

Jaruzelski arrived here on Thursday [12 April] evening after a visit to the Ukraine in accordance with the agenda of his official visit to the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet president.

Before going to the Kremlin, Jaruzelski visited Lenin's Mausoleum and laid a wreath there. He also laid a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

Signs Joint Declaration

LD1304110790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1050 GMT 13 Apr 90

[TASS diplomatic correspondent report from the Kremlin]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Apr (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski, who is on an official visit to the Soviet Union, have just signed a declaration in the Great Kremlin Palace.

In this joint Soviet-Polish document, the two presidents spoke of the fundamental significance for both states of good-neighborly relations and mutually advantageous cooperation. These relations, the document notes, are an important factor conducive to the stabilization and strengthening of peace in Europe.

High-level Teams Open Talks

LD1304104490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Following Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's talks with Wojciech Jaruzelski, which took place within the framework of the Polish president's official visit to the USSR, Soviet-Polish talks have begun between extended teams in the Yekaterinskiy Hall of the Great Kremlin Palace. Participating in them are, on the Soviet side: Maslyukov, Shevardnadze, and Yazov, members of the Presidential Council, and on the Polish side: officials accompanying the president.

A broad range of bilateral and international problems are under discussion.

'Terse' Statement on Katyn Crime Published

LD1304114390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Talks between Presidents Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski have begun in the Kremlin.

[Slezieniewski] This is Andrzej Slezieniewski speaking from Moscow. The event that preceded the third day of President Wojciech Jaruzelski's visit to the USSR today was the TASS statement published at 0100. It concerned the Katyn crime. It was very terse. It said Soviet historians had come across new documents which ensure that the responsibility for the execution in Katyn of the Polish officers lies upon Beria and his hangmen. It is expected that this evening a fuller document will be published on this matter.

Let us now return to the agenda of the visit. This morning Wojciech Jaruzelski laid a wreath at the Vladimir Lenin tomb and then paid homage to the Soviet soldiers who fell in defense of their homeland. From the park, near Red Square where the eternal flame burns, the president of the Polish Republic went to the Kremlin. Here at 1000 sharp, in the working study of Mikhail Gorbachev, a private conversation between the presidents began. It lasted two hours. Details of this conversation are not yet known. Then, full Polish and Soviet delegations met. I can only say that these talks lasted an hour, then joint documents were signed, among them a Polish-Soviet declaration.

Further on Katyn Statement

LD1204154190 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] The Soviet news agency TASS has published an official statement on the circumstances of the death of 15,000 Polish soldiers and officers who had been interned in several NVKD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] camps in September of 1939 in the Soviet Union.

According to the recently discovered documents, those prisoners were handed over to several commands of the NVKD, the then security service, in April-May 1940 and were never mentioned again in area reports or statistical data. The sum of evidence points to the responsibility for the crime resting on the then leadership of the NVKD department.

The Soviet side expressed deep regret over the tragedy and assesses it as one of the worst Stalinist outrages.

Weekly Examines Economy, Reforms in Poland

90UF0051A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 14, 7-13 Apr 90 p 2

[Article by I. Mitrofanova: "The Difficult Path to the Market"]

[Text] At one time the former prime minister of Poland (1954-1970), Jozef Cyrankiewicz, asked: "Why does Poland not have capitalism?" He found a witty answer to this question: "Because there is no capital in Poland."

Today Polish powers have decided to take the market path, agreeing to inflation and a high level of unemployment. The first stage under the new power is proceeding under the banner of a resolute fight against runaway inflation, which is producing its first results but is generating many difficulties both on the scale of the entire state and in the lives of individual Polish citizens. Food and electric energy prices have increased sharply, and apartment rent and payment for services have gone up. In a short period of time the standard of living dropped by more than 20 percent.

Proceeding in parallel with the intensive therapy for society is the implementation of the first stage of the reform developed by Deputy Prime Minister L. Balcerowicz. The changeover to a market economy does not take place either instantaneously or easily. It is difficult to realistically evaluate the economic success of the government program, particularly since the Polish national economy cannot react to the changes that have been made in the way a capitalist one would. Lech Walesa and Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki are traveling all over the world persuading businessmen to open up enterprises in Poland.

So far the results of these trips have not produced much hope. Only about a thousand foreign businessmen, who could invest a total of about 1 billion dollars in joint enterprises, have been interested in the Polish market (40 percent of them from the FRG). But in order to be successful Poland needs more considerable aid from foreign capital, both private and state.

The entry of large foreign capital into the Polish market is impeded by such phenomena as the instability of legislation on foreign capital, the dramatic situation in the sphere of communications, and the poorly functioning banking and credit- finance system. Capitalist countries continue to give Poland all their aid money in the form of monetary credit, although Poland is not in a condition to keep up with its immense prior debts. And although the West is promising a great deal of aid, the Poles must still be able to rely on their own forces.

Poland is now trying to accomplish an unprecedented leap from a destroyed centralized economy to real market relations. This jump, although very difficult, is possible. Anyone who has seen the way the Poles trade throughout Europe can have no doubt about their spirit of enterprise and ingenuity. Incidentally, one can also find Soviet goods at the Warsaw bazaars of Skra and Stadion Desyatiletiya. Our countrymen are not lacking in ingenuity and operate without complexes.

Lent Is Just Beginning...

The end of Carnival and the beginning of Lent were far more than merely symbolic dates in Poland this year. January and February proceeded under the banner of the country's highest jump in prices in the postwar period. And it is somewhat strange that this did not evoke special public outrage. How are we to understand this? After all, in 1970 the immediate that Gomulka had to give up power was only a small increase in the price of meat and meat products. Today prices are increasing ten-fold and more, but the people are putting up with it and believe in a better future.

Socialists assert that the mood of the people is characterized not only by how they live but also by the relationship between the real standard of living and their expectations. According to data from the center for the investigation of public opinion, 87 percent of those who participated in the questionnaire expected improvement of their standard of living at the beginning of 1990. This group of people expected a sharper decline in their real incomes than turned out to be the case in reality. The people understood that it was everyone's job to get out of the crisis—and that it would be difficult. The wealthy and good but abstract state ceased to exist. According to figures from a poll taken in February 1990, 41 percent of those who participated hope for an improvement of their standard of living in five years and 44 percent hope to receive higher wages in the next few months.

The information policy of the Polish Government is directed not toward propaganda but toward a correct reflection of the hard and grim future, and this helps the people to bear the heavy burden of the initial period of the reform.

At the present time preconditions exist that would seem to justify these hopes: The state exchange rate for the dollar has come closer to what it is on the black market, the rate of price increases has dropped, particularly for food, and an index of wages and pensions has been introduced. As a protest against the growth of prices, competitive sale of goods right on the streets has arisen spontaneously. But fact remains fact: Prices have now risen to the capitalist level, but the level of wages is still socialist.

TASS Reports De Maiziere Elected GDR Premier

LD1204141290 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin April 12 TASS—Deputies to the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic elected today Lothar de Maiziere, chairman of the GDR Christian Democratic Union, to the post of prime minister of the German Democratic Republic. He was supported by 265 out of 382 deputies.

Commentary on Shevardnadze Proposal on Germany

LD1204225390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1204 GMT 12 Apr 90

[By TASS political observer Albert Balebanov]

[Text] [no dateline as received] Over and over again in the West coordinated statements by officials from NATO and a number of member countries of this military-political organization are being made regarding the fact that the future single Germany should definitely belong to the North Atlantic Alliance. These statements are frequently accompanied by a refusal even to discuss the Soviet idea connected with searches for a solution to the exceedingly important and delicate issue of the place of the future single Germany in the military-political structure of Europe.

It has become known that Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze at the last meeting with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker exprssed the idea of Germany's simultaneous membership in the two military-political alliances, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, in the interim period before the creation of new European security structures. One should immediately say that this idea is just one version, the discussion of which Moscow is proposing, a sort of material for contemplation, a thought expressed out loud. The USSR does not consider its idea absolutely incontrovertible, but considers that it is possible and necessary to discuss it. In any case it could become the subject for normal and constructive discussion. Moreover, it should not be turned into a cause for hanging various types of labels, moreover at the level of officials.

In the discussion which has developed between the USSR and the Western countries on the future military-strategic status of the single German state the submission of proposals is a normal process for the exchange of opinions. It provides the opportunity for thoroughly contemplating all the pros and cons, weighing the advantages and disadvantages, and expressing one's opinions and considerations. The new Soviet initiative also fits into this process, which should be regarded primarily as an invitation to dialogue on the burning issue.

It is noticeable, however, that in this discussion one side, the Soviet Union, is demonstrating readiness to carry out a search for mutually acceptable solutions, whereas the other, the West, is turning down any initiatives out of hand while not wanting to relinquish its own demand that a single German should be a North Atlantic Treaty Organization member. Moreover, the West puts forward the thesis as an argument in support of such a position that the German people supposedly do not want their country to be in both NATO and in the Warsaw Pact and that they prefer to belong just to NATO. We will say directly that this thesis can hardly be taken seriously, at least while two Germanys remain.

Dialogue presupposes a readiness to listen to an interlocutor and an attempt to understand him, and not stupefaction and a one-sided approach, and even less a refusal to take into account the other side's interests. Without this a conversation will not come about. If the proposals put forward by the USSR are not accepted only because they go beyond the limits of the scheme invented in the West with relation to the future of the single Germany, then this means one thing: forcing the matter into an impasse. After all, it is clear that for the Soviet Union entry by a unified Germany into NATO is unacceptable.

If our proposals directed in the search for a compromise are rejected out of hand in the West, then no discussion will come about. Is the West really interested in this? I doubt it. The Soviet Union is also not interested in an impasse. Today, when the East and West are moving away from confrontation, the formation of distrust should be prevented, because that large political capital in international affairs which has already been amassed and makes it possible to cooperate and look into the future with hope will be devalued.

Economic Impact of German Unity Discussed

90UF0014A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 90 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with L.I. Tsedilin, candidate of economic sciences and head of the GDR Department of the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by Al. Stepanov, PRAVDA correspondent: "How Much Does Unification Cost?"; date not specified]

[Text] **For four decades, absolutely different principles were applied as the basis for the development of the economies of the FRG and the GDR. Now, when the unification of Germany is shifting from the speculative plane of political scientists to a practical plane, it is logical to ask: How will the parts of the state "body" with a different economic "circulatory system" knit together? They are now estimating in the FRG what unification will cost them, and this has been dealt with in our press. And what effect will this process have on the economy of the GDR? This subject is treated in an interview by a PRAVDA correspondent with L.I. Tsedilin, candidate of economic sciences and head of the GDR Department of the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System of the USSR Academy of Sciences.**

[Stepanov] Leonid Ivanovich, let us begin by taking a look at what the state of the GDR economy is in broad terms. FRG politicians explain the need for what can be called a "unification push" with references to the GDR's "crash," "downfall," and "collapse." A dismal picture was also drawn at the 15th session of the People's Chamber of the GDR in January of this year: a drop in the rates of growth of national income, a very great degree of obsolescence of production equipment, and a disastrous ecological situation...

[Tsedilin] Well, in general, the truth was told, was it not? We got accustomed to the fact that, to put it gently, statistics are retouched in all socialist countries. And the celebrated official 4-4.5 percent rate of growth in national income in the GDR has been absent for a long time. According to calculations performed in our department, this figure was overstated by 30-50 percent. The condition of the economy is critical, but I would not begin to talk about a crash. The GDR has always had, and continues to have to this day, the entire necessary assortment of vital benefits, services, and commodities.

[Stepanov] As a matter of fact, it was this that was the essence of the powerful social policy, as it was understood by the former leaders of the republic—to ensure all citizens not only a minimum of vital benefits, but a level noticeably above the minimum. Any one of our countrymen who has been in the GDR will grin: You fellows have not seen a real crisis...

[Tsedilin] This is so, but they do not by any means compare themselves with us, but rather with the developed countries of the West, and first and foremost with the FRG, about whose life they are informed in minute detail.

[Stepanov] But what about retouching here?

[Tsedilin] Yes, there cannot help but be. This time in the direction of understatement. I can cite data received from economists from West Berlin. I will note that they are serious and unbiased people, and their research is based exclusively on open sources from the GDR itself, without any conjecture. So then, the results are these: In industry there is a lag of 50 percent, and in agriculture, 58 percent. This is the reason for the difference in the living standard.

[Stepanov] But now the economic situation in the GDR continues to get worse?

[Tsedilin] Yes. But in my opinion this is associated not so much with the burden of past problems as with the fact that the economy of the GDR suddenly found itself wide open. This is like abruptly pulling off the covering of a hotbed when there is a light frost outside. The border was opened and people got the opportunity, perhaps not that free, but in any case a choice of where to live and where to work. And very many chose the West.

[Stepanov] For of economic reasons?

[Tsedilin] Basically, yes. In the second half of 1989, 343,000 persons left the GDR, which is equivalent to the loss of 220,000 specialists, or almost 3.1 percent of all those engaged in production.

[Stepanov] But then 500,000-700,000 exit applications were continuously present in the pertinent departments—I heard this figure more than once from middle-echelon party workers, at the beginning of the 1980's as well.

[Tsedilin] The total number of those ready to pull up stakes and depart was estimated at two to three million, but the process was hindered in every way possible. True, many restrictions were lifted after the first visit of Erich Honecker to Bonn in 1987. But this concerned mostly trips as guests and to see relatives. The figure of 5.7 million visits per year was cited. People made short trips, saw how the citizens of the FRG live and work, and the shock experienced by some whipped up a desire to leave at the first available opportunity. Now, 2,000-2,500 persons leave the GDR every day. The economy literally is being bled white—those leaving are mainly skilled workers and medical personnel, especially of the middle echelon, and youth...

[Stepanov] In a certain sense this resembles the situation that existed on the eve of August 1961, when the Berlin Wall was built. The economic reasons for putting it up were apparent: People were fleeing to the West, thousands and thousands of sharp fellows, were milking two cows—they sold their labor dearly to the capitalist, they got rich on exchange "in the black," and even completely enjoyed the benefits of socialism, subsidized housing, socially low prices...

[Tsedilin] True. The fact is that the GDR, along with all of the other structures of the fragile Stalinist socialism, also imitated the system of price formation, which, again, was directed at guaranteeing a specific living minimum, a standard which was rather weak by Western measures, but which was approximately the same for everyone. Indeed, this kind of a system made it possible to avoid stratification, but it also did not provide a release for all of the virtues of pay according to work. The systems of prices and tariffs were the same in all socialist countries, including ours, but they were especially carefully guarded in the GDR because they were a pillar of the "powerful social policy" with which Erich Honker came to power. And he made them into a "sacred cow," despite the fact that subsidies for these purposes were excessively large for the GDR.

[Stepanov] The administrative-command economy, in my opinion, was raised in the GDR to almost an ideal, if this is possible. But just as truth will out, so the actual defects of an economy that is built contrary to economic laws came to light; they undermined the national economy from within.

[Tsedilin] Of course, you can put a white glove on, but your dirty fingernails will not get any cleaner by doing so. Reforms will have to be implemented, they are inevitable. But the losses—economic and social—will be great. Thus, for example, Krista Luft, a well-know economist from the GDR, believes that apartment rent in the republic should be increased fivefold! Can this be done without compensation? Of course not. And the situation with respect to food products is identical.

Special difficulty is presented by the forced restructuring of industry, scrapping the entire structure calculated for the reproduction of the administrative-command economy, a repudiation of strict centralized planing and of excessive growth in the development of industries in group "A" and the raw materials branches. It is necessary to return to the traditional branches, for whose establishment there exist favorable geographic and natural conditions, and, if you wish, historical experience. This will be a very painful process which will cause unemployment. Even now with the shortage of workers, there are 50,000 unemployed in the GDR.

[Stepanov] These are former workers of the Ministry of State Security and the party apparatus. That is, people who are actually out of work for political reasons. But what will happen after the unification?

[Tsedilin] They believe in the West that then there will be 10 times more unemployed on the territory of the current GDR. But NEUES DEUTSCHLAND recently cited this figure: The introduction of a market economy can put 2.5 to four million persons out of work. So, the unification from an economic standpoint will not be easy. I think that two-thirds of the production potential of the GDR will be unable to join in market relations immediately. They are not capable of competing with the world standard. Many combines, even major ones, will have to be closed down.

[Stepanov] But what will happen to agriculture? The average harvest of 42-43 quintals of grain and milk yield of 4,000 liters per cow—is that so bad? The peasants are living well, and not only in leading cooperatives, but, perhaps, everwhere.

[Tsedilin] You are right, the indicators are excellent, but nonetheless they are higher in the FRG. And it is very difficult to compare the infrastructure and the processing industry. West Germany is ahead in all of these areas. The main task of the peasantry will be the same—to survive in a difficult competition. There is one more fact: After the unification of Germany, one should expect that there will be a flourishing of small and average private businesses, which will determine the economic uniqueness of this region. There is no doubt that capitalist economic principles will prevail, and that economic law will be adopted from the FRG. But, still, the total absorption of the GDR as an economically integrated organ is unwise. Many in the FRG understand this.

[Stepanov] The uniqueness will be useful to them also?

[Tsedilin] Of course. Look at what the GDR brings to unification: a gross social product of M1.4 trillion, including state property valued at M980 billion, cooperatives at M140 billion, and private property at M280 billion. Try to quickly privatize property with a price of M980 billion! In a word, there is a lot here that is not definite.

[Stepanov] But everything has already been determined with respect to the currency-financial union, it that not so?

[Tsedilin] Yes, the union, I think, will begin to function as early as this year and, perhaps, even in its first half.

[Stepanov] And, of course, the separation of Germany, which began with the introduction of a separate currency for the three Western occupation zones, will come to an end with the introduction of a single all-German monetary unit? And, naturally, it will be the FRG mark?

[Tsedilin] Of course, as a strong, convertible world currency. And the GDR mark, which, like our ruble, is in fact simply a coupon for use inside the country, will be compelled to surrender to the discretion of the victor without a fight. Both sides are now rushing into this union. The Westerners hope, with its help, to apply the brakes to the stampede from the GDR, which is becoming more burdensome for them, to say the least. Preelection advantages are also being pursued.

Consider the following: Elmar Pirot, whom Lothar De Maiziere, the leader of the GDR Christian Democratic Union, which won in the elections on 18 March, proposes appointing as Minister of Economics, declared: "The right of workers to strike will be limited. We will have to break a lot of habits, because the stronger side will dictate the conditions, that is, the FRG."

[Stepanov] The question about the exchange of savings will also be raised. In what ratio should this be done—one for two, for three, for four?

[Tsedilin] The "black market" rate is now 1 for 10, but it does not represent the real purchasing power of the GDR mark. And again, by right of being the stronger, the West is dictating its price—that's the long and the short of it. But the scales of prices in the GDR and the FRG are not comparable. An economically competent calculation of a basket of consumer goods, conducted by the specialists from West Berlin mentioned above, concluded that an exchange of 1:1 is justified and fair. Under all other versions, the GDR ends up in the humiliating position of a cheap labor pool, which is undeserved. I am convinced that the average skill of a GDR worker is not a bit lower, inasmuch as the quality of professional-technical education in the republic is high. But I repeat once more that bitter disappointment awaits many East Germans who favor the quickest possible unification and a currency-financial union.

[Stepanov] There were reports that the FRG is prepared after the unification to assume the fulfillment of GDR foreign trade obligations within the scope of CEMA.

[Tsedilin] And why not? It is to their advantage, and to our advantage also. It should not be forgotten that the GDR is the principal foreign consumer of our traditional export, that is, raw materials. Let us assume that the volume of deliveries will, at least initially, be maintained, and that we will begin to receive a convertible currency at world prices. Advantageous? Undoubtedly. The important thing is not to lose the moment when industry located in the region of the GDR begins to restructure itself and to lower energy and material intensiveness. This will occur without fail; the corresponding indices of the GDR are not acceptable to the West.

[Stepanov] But could you say how much the unification of Germany will cost, to sum it all up, so to speak?

[Tsedilin] The spread here is very large—from 500 billion to 1 trillion marks. I have in mind the long-term capital investments that the FRG will have to make. I emphasize that this is not aid that is free of charge, but investments that will bring a profit. But no one can yet say on whom in the GDR the golden rain will pour and who will have to tighten their belts. We will wait and see.

GDR Left-Wing Election Defeat Assessed

PM0604150490 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 13, 27 Mar-2 Apr 90 p 15

[Lev Bezymenskiy "Observer's View" article: "One Illusion Less"]

[Text] The people brought up in a world of disastrous illusions, however noble their motives may be, are incorrigible, because they seem to be unable to think about the unthinkable. They always want to hope that such thinking will prove needless, that one fine day all misunderstandings will be cleared up and they will be able to live without tormenting themselves over unnecessary and unpleasant questions. As Brovikov, Soviet ambassador to Poland and an indefatigable critic of Soviet foreign policy of the perestroyka period, put it simplicistically at a recent plenum of the party's Central Committee, it will be enough to call Gorbachev and Yakovlev to account and things will get back to their previous state, a reliable buffer of socialist countries will again be formed round the Soviet Union, Walesa and Havel will disappear as an evil, and world socialism will be saved.

The awareness of the threat of world socialism's demise has compelled the party's healthy forces embodied in the personality of Mikhail Gorbachev to make a bold attempt to raise socialist thinking to a dangerous but salutary self-denial for the sake of renovation. Following Gorbachev, Brovikov has probably stated more than once that a new revolution began in April 1985. But repetition is not always the mother of learning, especially when it is done mechanically. All of us have repeated this statement unaware how just it is.

Today many people are prepared to scold Gorbachev and, as one deputy put it, "to defend Gorbachev from Gorbachev." It would be better, however, "to defend ourselves from ourselves," from those who forget that they enjoy the fruits of the perestroyka policy, especially the fruits of new political thinking which has averted the threat of nuclear war and placed us among civilized states which are not feared but respected, also by the Soviet Union's neighbours with whom it is linked by common borders.

The revolution is continuing, though it is daily bringing disappointments within and outside the country. Future historians will have to decide whether our period was one of disappointments or enlightenment. As for us, we find it difficult to refrain from emotional evaluations, and sometimes we are influenced by them almost completely. The most striking example is provided by our perception of events in the German Democratic Republic and the development of its relations with the Federal Republic. For many years the situation in the G.D.R. was considered stable and the doctrine of two German states accepted both by Berlin and Bonn. It is all the more difficult now, especially for war veterans, to perceive the current events in Germany, particularly in its eastern part. What is taking place there again seems "unthinkable": the process of reunification has begun. Does it mean that Gorbachev or Yakovlev must be reprimanded again? I am afraid that this time ambassador Brovikov will not be backed even by his colleague in the G.D.R.

Hardly anyone will deny that the course of events has outstripped us and even our notions of what may happen. However, in politics one can be late to a point: one can miss his train but he will be able to come up with it by car and even outrun it by plane. What one should go by in decision-making is not nostalgia for the past but hard reality.

Do the election results in the G.D.R. mean another disappointment for us? Of course, they are disappointing to those who did not understand the entire depth of the moral defeat of the socialist idea in its Prussian-Honecker variant. As we see, not only the Party of Democratic Socialism, burdened with the past, but also the Socialist Democratic Party opposed to it were unable to gain leading positions. However, this was achieved under Kohl's direct guidance by the conservative bloc, which had promised milk and honey to the G.D.R. citizens.

I am not going to explain all this by the West's unprecedented interference. It played its part, of course. But, as I had an occasion to note recently, no external interference will have an effect unless it has some backing within. For this reason we should abandon another illusion which we could cherish till March 18. The elections went to the parties and groups which had inscribed Bonn-coined anti-socialist slogans on their banners. Though a Christian Democratic Union government in the G.D.R. does not yet mean Helmut Kohl in office there, the election results are indicative. A new reality - a "conservative" G.D.R. - has come into being.

Of course, March 18 is merely a stage, and by no means a final one. Against this background the clash of internal forces in the Federal Republic is given less prominence now. However, it is not growing weaker in view of the approaching December elections to the Bundestag. German affairs will develop further in an atmosphere of the "cross" struggle in both republics. Besides, an international dialogue on the German question has actually been started. It conceals many reefs and even more undercurrents. So we can expect both disappointments and breakthroughs. But better without illusions.

Mudslinging Rife on GDR Political Scene

PM1004101590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Apr 90 Second Edition p 5

[Correspondent May Podklyuchnikov report: "Fighting 'Dirty'"]

[Text] Berlin—The Western entertainment industry has thought up a spectacle marked by an extreme lack of aesthetic taste—"mud wrestling." The opponents, rolling about in thick, black mud and covering themselves in filth, try to throw each other to the ground. "Mud wrestling" automatically comes to mind when you ponder certain aspects of present-day political life in the GDR.

In the past six months several new parties and organizations have entered the political scene in the country. Their leaders' faces appear on television, and interviews with them are published in the press. The new politicians set out their positions and debate with people who hold different opinions. At first glance it all seems highly democratic and within the bounds of political culture. But that is only at first glance...

Indeed, by what methods are the emerging differences of opinion being resolved? Much in the political life of the GDR today makes you conclude that behind the respectable democratic screen events reminiscent of "mud wrestling" are continually going on. People are using unseemly methods against political opponents in an attempt to smear them with the mire of suspicion and eliminate them from the political scene without even bothering to debate the essential issues.

It is a simple method: You accuse your opponent of previously cooperating with the GDR Ministry of State Security. You promise to produce documents to that effect. The public is ready to believe you. Especially as one revelation has already taken place: It has been shown, and subsequently admitted, that W. Schnur, former chairman of the right-wing party Democratic Awakening, cooperated with the State Security. The mud hit the target—Schnur had to retire.

Since then mud has been slung first at one politician, then another. It is not always obvious who precisely is throwing it and why. It has reached the point where suspicions are being expressed about a considerable proportion of deputies in the People's Chamber. Demonstrations have even been organized in a number of cities with the demand that all deputies be checked for "cleanness." An atmosphere of tension, distrust of many politicians, and suspicion is deliberately being created in the country. Ibrahim Boehme, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, was forced to leave his post. Who will the next victim be?

The further into the past the day when the Ministry of State Security building was ransacked recedes, the more often political commentators are asking: Shouldn't the documents of this or that politician be checked? When the building was robbed quite a few official forms, letterheads, and files were stolen. Fashioning them into a "mud ball" is just a technical matter.

Anticommunist Coalition 'Essential' in Romania

PM1104081390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Apr 90 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Vedrashko dispatch: "Voices 'For' and 'Against.' Election Campaign in Romania Gathers Momentum"]

[Text] Bucharest—Late in the evening 100 meters from University Square the police are signaling to drivers: No way through, turn right or left. For many hours now young people have been staging a demonstration outside the Intercontinental Hotel in support of the "21 December Association," which set up its headquarters under the open sky here a few days ago.

At present Bucharest resembles an enormous arena where preparations for a mass theatrical event are in progress. The numbers of newspapers and journals on sale everywhere cause some political observers to smile bitterly: Even veteran chroniclers of election campaigns are finding it difficult to sort things out amid this seething sea of arguments, mutual recriminations, attacks, cartoons, photographs, complaints, and threats. At present officials are rather reluctant to meet with foreign journalists. The press center has not been operating for several days now, and telephone communications with other countries are extremely difficult because the system is overloaded. Romanian journalists have come to their foreign colleagues' defense, making the pages of their newspapers available for a collective protest by foreign correspondents who have come to Romania specially to cover the election campaign.

Another five political parties have been formed in the country in the last 10 days. There is now a total of 68. Universal attention is focused on the prospect of the creation of a triple alliance between the National Peasants Party (Christian Democrat), the National Liberal Party, and the Socialist Party of Romania. Incidentally, whereas this looked like a real possibility a couple of days ago, the dominant feeling is now one of uncertainty. At a 31 March news conference National Liberal leader Radu Campeanu declared the possibility of the three parties pooling their efforts. This necessitated negotiations. They have started, but are taking place in an atmosphere of differences.

Meanwhile the Democratic Christian Union has issued an appeal which states, in part: "A coalition of all Romania's anticommunist parties is essential. If the Communists in the guise of the National Salvation Front and its satellite parties win the May elections it will mean that the sacrifices of the heroes of the revolution were in vain." Fifteen or so parties have already responded to this appeal. The question of creating an anticommunist coalition which would put forward a single list of common candidates is being placed on the agenda.

Vorontsov Leaves for Budapest Ministerial Meeting

LD1104100490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0910 GMT 11 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, 11 Apr (TASS)—Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, left Moscow for Budapest today to participate in the meeting at foreign minister level between representatives of the USSR, East European countries, and the Rio de Janeiro group.

MSZMP Head on Party's Electoral Performance

PM0904140790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Apr 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Budapest: MSZMP After Elections"]

[Text] Although the results of the MSZMP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party's] participation in the first round of the parliamentary elections cannot be described as a success, it is not a serious defeat either, for the renewed MSZMP has been engaged in activity for only 2 and ½ months, MSZMP Chairman Gyula Thurmer stated during an interview with MTI.

There is still hope, he pointed out, that two MSZMP candidates will be voted into parliament in the second round. However, irrespective of that, the MSZMP plans to make full use of extraparliamentary means of political work.

In the MSZMP chairman's opinion, the 25 March parliamentary elections failed to answer many important questions confronting Hungarian society. However, it is clear that political power in the country will be transferred to bourgeois parties.

The kind of answers these parties will be able to give to mounting unemployment and inflation and whether they succeed in solving the structural problems of the economy are important for the future, G. Thurmer observed. The MSZMP considers that, despite all their intentions to achieve changes for the better, these parties will be unable to cure all the economic ills.

Hungarian-Soviet Science Cooperation Pact Signed

PM1004102190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Apr 90 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA-TASS report under the general heading "News: 6 April": "Hungary"]

[Text] The introduction of new forms of collaboration between Hungarian and Soviet scientists is envisaged by an agreement on scientific cooperation between the Hungarian and USSR Academies of Sciences in 1991-1995 which has been signed in Budapest. It provides for the creation of joint scientific collectives, the elaboration of targeted comprehensive programs and projects, and the development of direct links between the two countries' scientific establishments.

West Europe

PRAVDA Reports News Conference by UK's Hurd

PM1204131990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Apr 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "At USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] Useful and fruitful—that was how D. Hurd, British secretary for foreign and commonwealth affairs, described his conversation with M.S. Gorbachev and talks with E.A. Shevardnadze. Before flying to Leningrad, where his visit to the Soviet Union will end, he met 11 April with Soviet and foreign journalists at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center.

Relations between Britain and the USSR, the secretary continued, are now at a very high level and this makes it possible to discuss in an unprecedentedly frank form the problems of the new Europe, which in turn promotes the further development of relations between our countries.

Providing information on the questions discussed during his talks with E.A. Shevardnadze, the speaker dwelled primarily on regional problems, in particular the situation in Cambodia. We agreed, he noted, that there are opportunities with regard to this question for holding intensive consultations on the international plane in order to promote the solution of the Cambodian problem.

The journalists, as was to be expected, displayed great interest in how the discussion of the Lithuania question proceeded. It was not examined in the working groups or at the plenary sessions, the secretary said. But I raised it the day before in my conversations with M.S. Gorbachev and E.A. Shevardnadze and expressed our concern, which remains in the majority of Western countries. I was given precise information about the policy which is being pursued with regard to Lithuania, the secretary stressed.

Speaking of the problems of arms reduction and disarmament and questions of European security, which were also the subject of the talks, the secretary noted three very important diplomatic tasks which face both the Soviet Union and Britain in 1990. They are the "two plus four" talks on problems of Germany's unification, the talks on conventional arms in Vienna, and preparation for the Helsinki-2 meeting, which could be held at summit level at the end of this year. These are all interconnected questions. And if we want to achieve success, we must perform active diplomatic work in this direction, the guest emphasized. That is why the discussion in Moscow on this question was very important. It was important to ascertain our differences and how they can be overcome.

D. Hurd again repeated his well-known view that security in Europe can best be ensured if a unified Germany joins NATO.

Completing his brief statement to journalists, the British secretary announced that M. Thatcher is awaiting with optimism her visit to the Soviet Union this June.

Hurd Departs Leningrad for Home

LD1204200690 Moscow TASS in English 1943 GMT 12 Apr 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Alyokhin and Nikolay Kondratenko]

[Text] Leningrad April 12 TASS—Douglas Hurd, British secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs, left Leningrad tonight.

He first visited Leningrad 34 years ago, and now he took advantage of the opportunity to visit it again within the framework of his official visit to the USSR. At a dinner given for him by the Executive Committee of the Leningrad City Soviet Hurd admitted that at that time, 34 years ago, when he had come to Leningrad as a young diplomat, the city had seemed very attractive to him. This time he was confirmed in his opinion that Leningrad was a beautiful European city.

Hurd, who is not in the habit of using high-flown vocabulary, praised in most complimentary words the country in general and the Soviet leadership. He said that he had just finished detailed talks in Moscow. According to Hurd, the governments of the two countries find more and more things, that are common to both of them, in the process of a joint work in the interests of stability in Europe. At the same time, the Moscow talks showed that there is another important aspect of the Anglo-Soviet dialogue—Soviet perestroyka. Hurd stressed that Britain was ready to render practical assistance to it.

In an interview with Soviet journalists he also praised changes in the Soviet Union. He said that during all the five years of perestroyka they had followed reforms in the USSR with much interest. Hurd believes that some progress has been achieved in politics and in economy. However, economic development problems are more complicated. Much time and efforts will be needed to transfer to the market economy.

He was asked whether developments in Eastern Europe were an obstacle for the deepening of the East-West dialogue. He said that, on the contrary, they create good conditions for its development. However, new problems are emerging. During the "cold war" period all problems were resolved easily—in the spirit of confrontation. Now one has to rack his brains, to look for a compromise. But these are pleasant problems, Hurd added.

Hurd was received today by Vladimir Khodyrev, mayor of Leningrad, and Yuriy Denisov, secretary of the regional party committee. At the Piskarevskiy cemetery, where some 500,000 Leningrad residents were buried who died during the second world war, Hurd laid a wreath, paying respect to their memory. Later today he visited the hermitage, a world-famous museum.

Biryukova-Led Delegation Departs London for Home

LD1204201390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1315 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] London, 12 Apr (TASS)—The Soviet delegation headed by Aleksandra Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, which has been visiting the British capital, left for home today. The delegation took part in the work of the international conference on cocaine and reducing the demand for narcotics which took place in London.

France's Beregovoy on USSR Trading Relations

PM1004160090 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 14, 8 Apr 90 p 13

[Report on undated interview with French Economy, Finance and Budget Minister Pierre Beregovoy by Yuriy Buksin: "'We Are No Good at Trade,' Says French Minister"]

[Text] Moscow—"If you were a businesman, Mr. Minister, would you invest in the Soviet Union?"

"Of course," said Pierre Beregovoy, the French Minister of State for the Economy, Finance and the Budget.

It was not an idle question. A few days before the arrival in Moscow of the French delegation to the first session of the intergovernmental Soviet-French commission on economic, industrial, scientific and technical cooperation, the foreign press published reports about Soviet foreign trade associations delaying hard- currency payments to their Western partners. Dozens of companies in West Germany, the United States, France and Italy were named as not having received payments since last October. The protracted silence of Soviet officials has given rise to the hypothesis of the USSR's growing insolvency.

Meaning what? A mere shortage of hard currency of a more serious problem? This question certainly worried members of the French delegation in Moscow to negotiate with their Soviet colleagues. Incidentally, for the first time the official delegation was accompanied by a large group of businessmen.

According to sources close to the French delegation, the financial problems were settled in the course of negotiations. The French side apparently received assurances that the delayed payments totalling some six billion francs would be made in the near future.

According to the French negotiators, it was a purely "technical" misunderstanding. The delayed Soviet payments are a result of the introduction of market relations and the bureaucratic muddle at Soviet finance and foreign trade offices. All hard-currency payments had been previously made in a centralized manner. Now many organizations and enterprises have received licences for foreign trade and begun operating independently. Occasionally they run out of currency. The USSR Bank of Foreign Economic Affairs, which has traditionally guaranteed all hard-currency accounts of Soviet foreign trade associations, has begun blocking their payments. "The transition period is fraught with unstability," said Pierre Beregovoy in Moscow.

Will this affect Soviet-French economic ties adversely? Judging by the projects discussed at the session of the intergovernmental commission, such fears are premature, though certain problems remain unresolved. The French Minister summed them up as follows: "Our trade deficit last year ran into 5.7 billion francs...much is yet to be done about joint ventures...we've got lots of negotiated deals but implementing them has created great difficulties". Pierre Beregovoy concluded: "We understand each other well, but we are no good at trade."

However, the French delegation did not confine itself to pessimistic statements and suggested a number of new, potentially interesting projects: to train 6,000 Soviet businessmen with the assistance of the Paris Chamber of Commerce; to modernize Soviet nuclear power stations and raise their safety and efficiency; to deliver new technology for Moscow's supermarkets, etc. Pierre Beregovoy stressed that the French Government was ready to adopt a series of measures to encourage French business to "explore Soviet markets, to export French goods to the Soviet Union and to invest here."

Supreme Soviet Delegation Continues Cyprus Visit

LD1104053590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1230 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Nicosia, 10 Apr (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation led by A.S. Yeliseyev, USSR people's deputy, deputy chairman of the USSR Parliamentary Group, here on an official visit, has held meetings and conversations with leaders of political parties of the Greek-Cypriot community.

The talks concerned matters of the current situation on the island, Cyprus-USSR relations, and a number of international problems. The leaders of the Greek-Cypriot political parties expressed satisfaction with relations between the USSR and the Republic of Cyprus, stressing the historical nature of relations between the two peoples which stretch back for centuries. In particular, D. Khristofias [name as received], secretary general of the Central Committee of the Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL) welcomed restructing in the Soviet Union.

The leaders of the political parties were unanimous in a positive appraisal of the consistent position of the Soviet Union on a Cyprus settlement.

Vatican-USSR Diplomatic Relations Viewed

90UN1350A Moscow TRUD in Russian 29 Mar 90 p 3

[Article by TRUD staff correspondent P. Negoitsa: "USSR-Vatican: A New Stage of Relations"]

[Text] The Vatican, March—If the Soviet Union established diplomatic relations with the Vatican, it would become the 120th country with which the Holy See maintains such relations. Certainly, in responding to simultaneous announcements in Moscow and the Vatican on making relations between the two states official, the largest Italian newspaper CORRIERE DELLA SERA had little interest in statistical calculations. Its goal was to bring to the readers' attention the unnatural condition of relations between the USSR and the Vatican for more than 70 years.

By now, the countries have taken steps toward each other which Head of the Press Department of the Holy See I. Navarro-Vals viewed as directly preceding the future establishment of diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the Soviet Union. For now, they have agreed to exchange official representatives: from the USSR—with the rank of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, and from the Holy See—with the title of papal nuncio for special missions.

The establishment of official relations between the USSR and the Holy See was agreed to during a meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and John Paul II held in the Vatican on 1 December 1989.

Personally, I would note one more date, 10 April 1963, when John XXIII released his famous encyclical "Peace on Earth." It said: "It has become customary to justify the arms race by saying that under the current circumstances only a balance of armed forces ensures peace. However, if one side increases its potential, other countries should keep up and arm themselves also. If one country manufactures nuclear weapons, the others must also produce nuclear weapons with the same destructive power. As a result people live in constant fear, waiting for a hurricane that could hit at any time, bringing with it unimaginable suffering, and for good reason, because the weapons are already prepared."

Let us not forget that these words were spoken at the height of the "cold war." We should duly appreciate their positive charge even now.

The religious newspaper AVVENIRE believes that by stabilizing its official relations with the USSR at the present stage the Vatican may contribute to the process of democratic transformations initiated by perestroyka. The communique on the exchange of official representatives by the USSR and the Vatican raises the issue as follows: It is noted in it that M.S. Gorbachev and John Paul II agreed to make relations between the USSR and the Vatican official with a view to facilitating a direct dialogue on issues of mutual interest and promoting useful cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Vatican in the international sphere. It is from this that the official representatives of the Soviet Union and the Holy See are going to proceed.

John Paul II has already appointed his representative, Monsignor Francesco Colasuonno. He is a professional Vatican diplomat who has worked in India and Mozambique. In recent years he has mostly worked on the countries of Eastern Europe.

In response to questions from Soviet journalists, Monsignor Colasuonno said: "I view my future mission in two dimensions: promoting the normalization of the religious life of Catholics in the USSR, and reinforcing the relationship of confidence and mutual understanding between the Holy See and the Soviet Union. This mutual understanding will be in keeping with the interests of both states and the desire of the peoples of the world to build their mutual relations on the basis of common human values."

As a result of summarizing responses, we may agree with the opinion of the newspaper MANIFESTO which stated: "One more wall has come down in Europe." Therefore, the prospect of building a common home on the continent has come somewhat closer.

Latin America & Caribbean

Castro Receives USSR's Abalkin in Havana

LD1204105790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Fidel Castro, the first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Council of State of the Republic, has received L. Abalkin, the deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in the Palace of the Revolution in Havana. He arrived in the capital of Cuba at the head of a delegation that will take part in the 20th session of the intergovernmental Soviet-Cuban commission for economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

Castro Reiterates Commitment to 'Socialist Ideals'

PM0604152990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Apr 90 First Edition p5

[Unattributed report: "Loyalty to Ideals"]

[Text] The Cuban people are prepared to defend their sovereignty, independence, and pride at any price, Fidel Castro said on Wednesday when addressing a rally to mark the 28th anniversary of the formation of the Cuban Young Communists Union. Some 80,000 young men and women took part.

"We will never agree to become a dependent country again," the Cuban leader pointed out, "and we will never abandon socialist ideals, however difficult the path ahead."

The Cuban revolution, he stressed, will not make concessions and deals with imperialism, which is becoming increasingly aggressive. "As history shows, whoever chooses the policy of compromise is always defeated. Events in countries which used to be part of the socialist camp show that, if you give imperialism even a finger, you can lose your hand and then your head," F. Castro said.

Highly appraising young Cuban people's morale, he said that the country's leadership is trying to ensure them "a happy, joyous, free future rather than corrupt capitalism rejected by the people."

Ill Treatment of Rights Activists in Cuba Denied

PM1104141790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Apr 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS "News in Brief" report]

[Text] Cuba, 10 Apr—The Cuban Attorney General's Office has rejected rumors circulated by members of the so-called "Cuban party for human rights" about alleged arrests of 24 people in March on political grounds and breaches of the law in places of imprisonment in relation to these individuals. Cuban Attorney General's Office spokesman Jorge Bodes said that last month the republic's law enforcement organs arrested nine "Cuban party for human rights" activists. The detainees are accused of belonging to "counterrevolutionary organizations whose aim is to change the economic, political, and social system of the socialist state," the spokesman for the Attorney General's Office said.

IZVESTIYA on Diplomat's Death in Suriname

PM1204135290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 4

[G. Charodeyev report: "Suriname: Mysterious Killing of Soviet Diplomat"]

[Text] REUTER and AFP report from Paramaribo: S. Abukauskas, second secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Suriname, was found dead on Tuesday morning 30 km from the country's capital, in a ditch by the high-speed Kennedy Highway. It has become known from the local police administration's report that bullet wounds were found on the diplomat's body. The mysterious killing, crime experts believe, took place, by all appearances, at 0100 hours local time. A blue Mazda was found at the site where the body was discovered, although S. Abukauskas usually used a brown Mercedes. The investigation continues, but the police cannot yet say anything specific about the motive for the crime.

An official spokesman for the Soviet Embassy in Suriname confirmed the fact of the killing, but refused to comment.

It has become known that 42-year-old Stasis Abukauskas arrived in Paramaribo about a year ago as embassy second secretary. His predecessor committed suicide in June 1989...

The editorial office tried to contact the USSR Embassy in Suriname by telephone. Unfortunately, this proved impossible: In the morning and afternoon of 11 April there was no communication with Paramaribo.

The USSR Foreign Ministry Latin American Countries Administration told IZVESTIYA's correspondent:

"It is true that on 9 April Stasis Abukauskas, a staffer at the Soviet Embassy in Suriname, was shot by persons unknown on the way to the airport. The car in which he was traveling was stolen. The police are investigating..."

Supreme Soviet Session

Committe Considers Ambassadorial Candidates

LD1204183990 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent Andrey Orlov:

"The flexibility of thought and the force of argument"—the qualities essential for a diplomat—undoubtedly fully applied to new ambassadors recommended today for assignments in countries that are traditionally important for the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

The Soviet parliament's Committee for Foreign Affairs discussed—for the first time in its history—the candidacies of ten ambassadors who constitute, as one of speakers put it, "the flower of Soviet foreign policy".

Among candidates are four deputy foreign ministers and other prominent diplomats who played the key role in shaping the Soviet Union's foreign policy known worldwide as "new thinking".

The committee members who described the very fact of the discussion as a "new stage in the development of relationships between the parliament and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs", made the following recommendations:

Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, first deputy foreign minister, as the ambassador to the United States,

Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister, as the ambassador to the United Nations,

Ivan Aboimov, deputy foreign minister, as the ambassador to Hungary,

Boris Pankin, the incumbent Soviet ambassador to Sweden, for an assignment in Czechoslovakia,

Anatoliy Adamishin, deputy foreign minister, as the ambassador to Italy,

Yuriy Dubinin, the incumbent Soviet Ambassador to the United States, for an assignment in France,

Yuriy Kashlev, ambassador at large, as the ambassador to Poland,

Felix Bogdanov, the Soviet ambassador to Belgium, for an assignment to Romania,

Vladimir Terekhov, head of a Foreign Ministry department, as the ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany,

And Gennadiy Shikin, the Soviet ambassador to Austria, for an assignment in the German Democratic Republic.

Despite the highly well-wishing atmosphere of discussion, the candidates had to answer numerous poignant questions and hear committee members' suggestions. Only after that the ambassadorial candidacies were approved.

Aleksandr Belonogov and Yuliy Kvitsinsky, who are the incumbent Soviet Ambassadors to the United Nations and to the FRG, respectively, were appointed deputy foreign ministers.

The other ambassadors being replaced, including members of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee—Yakov Ryabov, the ambassador to France, Vladimir Brovikov, the ambassador to Poland and Yevgeny Tyazhelnikov, the ambassador to Romania, are retiring on pension.

Supreme Soviet Discusses Chernobyl, Pensions

LD1204133190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Aleksandr Ruvinskiy report from the USSR Supreme Soviet]

[Excerpts] Committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet are in session today here, in the Supreme Soviet building. Routine work is taking place on the documents that will shortly be submitted to plenary sessions of the Supreme Soviet and of its chambers. I must say that one session is taking place here today that is being attended by very many people who have been invited to the sitting, apart from people's deputies. They are scientists, specialists from various sectors of the national economy, and cultural personalities; in general, all those who have an interest in solving our Chernobyl problem. It is a question of discussing the decision that will be submitted later for consideration by the Supreme Soviet concerning an integrated program for eliminating the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station. The program is a long-term one. It will require vast expenditure. For the moment, unfortunately, the deputies cannot say precisely where the money will come from. There are various proposals, but in general one has to hope for help also from the international community, since the problem is a world one. But we will return to today's session in our programs and will give a more detailed account of it.

I would now like to say something about another session, that of the Committee for Agrarian Issues and Food. Today it examined the question of pensions. A draft law on pensions will also be submitted very soon for consideration by the Supreme Soviet, and today's sitting was, in general, devoted to one aspect of the pension issue. It was a matter of preferential pensions.

The point is that at present agricultural workers are employed in very difficult working conditions. This refers to the work of machine operators, milkmaids, and those who work with various toxic chemicals. They do not receive the preferential pensions that are awarded in other sectors of industry. [passage omitted]

Well, you know, I attended the session and quite unexpectedly, both for me and I think for many people's deputies who were present at the sitting, the conversation took on a somewhat unusual coloring. All in all, as far as I know, the people's deputies did not adopt the document that they had prepared for the session. [passage omitted on Deputy Nikolay Nikolayevich Vorobyev pointing out that instead of improving working conditions, many sectors have been trying to compensate their workforce by enhancing pensions while agricultural workers have been left behind in this process. deputies therefore rejected the whole idea of preferential pensions and called for improved working conditions instead]

Well, we will see what attitude the Supreme Soviet will now take toward this at its session when the draft will be considered. With that I end this report.

Chernobyl Measures Termed 'Inadequate'

LD1204191990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Apr 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] The session of the USSR Supreme Soviet conducted its work in commissions and committees today. Here is a report by our parliamentary correspondent:

[I. Minayev; identified by caption] Probably the main event at the session today was the discussion of the draft Supreme Soviet decision on a unified program to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station and the situation arising from this accident. The draft decision notes that the measures taken to eliminate the consequences of the tragedy have proven to be inadequate. An extremely tense situation has developed in the regions which suffered radioactive fall-out. The recommendations of scientists and specialists on the problems of radiation safety contradict each other. Strange as it may seem, a unified program to eliminate the consequences of the disaster has still not been drawn up.

The documents are full of negative phrases like: not provide for; not taken into consideration; not established. The documents also provide evidence of procrastination, carelessness, and indifference. They spell out the consequences of underestimating the scale of the accident, the poor coordination, and unjustified hushing-up of information about the radiation situation. The draft Supreme Soviet decision notes that the country found itself unprepared for a profound analysis of what happened and a speedy solution to the problems of Chernobyl. [video shows various deputies and a brief view of a chart] [passage omitted]

Press, Pensions Discussed by Committees

LD1204191190 Moscow TASS in English 1846 GMT 12 Apr 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—Despite the fact that the parliament chambers held no plenary sessions today, parliamentarians had no time to sit on their hands—they had a lot to attend to in committes and commissions.

The Council of Nationalities; Commission for Nationality Matters discussed the bill on the press, under which not only state bodies, public organizations, movements and parties but also all citizens above 18 years of age will have the right to establish mass information organizations.

The bill notes that state and public bodies, which prevent journalists from performing their lawful professional activity, or force journalists to spread or withhold information, will be criminally liable or have to pay a fine of up to 500 rubles.

In the parliamentary Committee for Glasnost, where the bill on pensions was discussed, the tone was set by journalist-deputies, who insisted that professionally they were among the least socially protected people in society. According to the bill, their pensions are calculated without taking into account their fees, while any part-time job, according to the same bill, gives people the right to a higher pension.

Deputies noted that it was not accidential that the mention of the journalists' union as a creative union was omitted from the bill. In that way journalists were stripped of all privileges granted to members of creative workers' unions when calcualting their pensions.

As regards financial resources, they can be mustered, according to many deputies, by cutting the bureaucratic apparatus and redundant structures and thus beefing up the social insurance fund.

Speakers focussed their special attention on the articles dealing with pension privileges, the situation of working pensioners and working people who suffered without guilt during mass repressions in the past. Pensions for those in arduous jobs and in the agro-industrial complex came under comprhensive discussion. A number of amendments and specifications were introduced.

The session of the parliamentary Committee for Matters Relating to the Operation of Councils of People's Deputies considered the preparation of the bill "on the USSR Supreme Soviet's committees and its chambers' standing commissions".

Lukyanov Views Work of Committees, Commissions

LD1204200290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Apr 90

["At the USSR Supreme Soviet": Radio diary presented by Andrey Nikiforov]

[Text] Today, the deputies have been working in the committees of the Supreme Soviet and in the commissions of its chambers. A wide range of draft laws has been considered which will be discussed in the near future at plenary sittings, as well as those documents which will be adopted for the longer term. Work in the committees and commissions is regarded as a most important component in a deputy's activity, without which effective lawmaking would be impossible. This is how Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, appraised this everyday activity at his first meeting with journalists.

[Begin Lukyanov recording] The main kitchen—someone, Bushkevich, I think, wrote this phrase—from which all the flavors of the parliamentary struggle come, the main kitchen is the commissions, the committees. That's where the main cooking is done. It is much harder to describe them. There are a lot of them. One has to select, one has to look: often it's one and the same draft laws. One cannot be everywhere. However, if one does not show the committees and the comissions—this means not showing two-thirds of the Supreme Soviet's work.

The committees and commissions reflect the real life of the Supreme Soviet. A commission or committee can be much more acute than a session, where one has both to observe the standing orders and cut individuals short, and where several alternative views clash directly. They arrive here already polished. All the more so since as soon as a multiparty system really takes shape, with groups of deputies and so on, you will see even less, because each group will single out one spokesman.

This fact must be understood very accurately; that later, the majority of questions will be resolved in the committees and commissions. [end recording]

Political & Social

Komsomol Delegates Question Gorbachev 10 Apr

PM1204135490 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Apr 90 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "Frank Discussion With Komsomol Delegates"]

[Text] After addressing delegates to the 21st Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] Congress 10 April, M.S. Gorbachev answered numerous questions.

Question: The administrative edict system is trying to persuade working people that perestroyka—the policy started by Gorbachev—is bankrupt. During the elections to the soviets young people tried for the first time to nominate their own representatives, for which we are being called extremists. What, in your opinion, should be done with party leaders of this kind? After all, any party which alienates its young people is doomed to inevitable failure.

Answer: The policy and practice of perestroyka are being criticized from both right-wing conservative and extreme left-wing positions. Seeing this, I would not, however, currently divide our society into opposing sectors and trends. There are useful incentives and criticism from both sides. They make us think about our policy and the experience of our work, and acutely raise the question of shortcomings and even failings in certain areas. We also needed a democratic atmosphere and glasnost to enable the people to get involved in administration, and for social circles representing certain social trends to be able to voice their attitude to the perestroyka policy and the work to implement it. From that standpoint I see this entire process as natural and normal.

It is another thing when certain political forces on both the right and left want to exploit this process. Whoever attacks perestroyka—be they representatives of the party, the soviet apparatus, or some social circles—should be resolutely combated, I believe.

I advocate that perestroyka be carried out in democratic forms and under the people's control so that it is possible to discuss all questions and make amendments to policy and practical activity. All people concerned about the country's fate and its renewal should know that we are prepared to listen to them and take account of their opinions in practical matters.

The party makes no claim to a monopoly position—we have advocated not only plurality of opinions but political pluralism as well. A law on social organizations and associations of citizens is in the pipeline. Of course, democratic processes should be protected by certain insurance mechanisms, so to speak—including the presidency and much else besides. Everything should take place on the basis of laws.

Now to the leaders who have described as extremists those young people who have been nominating themselves as candidate deputies. I don't even have to use any arguments in this area. I regret it if among our party leaders there are people who don't understand the importance of including young people in the political process and are trying to prevent this happening. I condemn that position.

Question: What, in your view, will be the main result of the 28th CPSU Congress—a multiparty system or a split in the party? One other question: The resolution of many issues concerning the entire people is impossible without a referendum. When will a law on referendums be adopted?

Answer: A law on referendums is in the offing. I think we will have one this year. The Supreme Soviet simply lacks the time and resources—that is why we have drawn up priorities about what should be discussed and adopted first.

Now to the 28th CPSU Congress. The fact that we have previously issued the CPSU Central Committee Platform "Toward Humane and Democratic Socialism," publicized the draft new party Statutes, and proposed that provisions in them allowing delegates to be elected directly fom primary organizations be made use of—all this, I think, makes it possible to conduct a full-fledged discussion before the congress and to thoroughly discuss questions on the agenda at the congress itself, once we have this representative mix [sostav] of delegates. I am convinced that society has an interest in a strong, active, modern, and renewed party which would operate within the framework of democracy and pluralism, cooperating and engaging in dialogue with other social forces—all the more so with those which are close to it in terms of its goals. It seems to me that this will be an interesting, important, and crucial congress in the party's life. It will provide a powerful impetus for the party to gain its second wind.

A split in the party? In recent years some people have been joining the party, some leaving it. Analysis shows that, on the one hand, this is a natural process of cleansing: That is how things should be with people who disagree with the party, its program aims, and Statutes. On the other hand, there are also many cases when the people who leave have not understood the party properly. That concerns us. I hope that what will be done before the congress and at the congress itself will allow communists to find satisfaction by participating in the activity of a renewed party. Then this process will be stopped. The consolidation of party ranks around the Platform and the new CPSU Statutes will make it possible to avoid a split. Although a certain section of communists may stay with the party while adopting other positions and not wholly accepting the platform. Another section may well leave—I don't rule that out.

In this connection there was the question of an alleged Gorbachev letter to local party organizations demanding the expulsion of all dissidents [inakomyslyashchikh]. In actual fact, the party Central Committee letter will be passed to the press today. It contains an appeal to communists to consolidate on fundamental positions in the run-up to the congress. This, I repeat, is an appeal for consolidation rather than for a split or for factions or some dissidents to be routed. Those who find themselves in disagreement during the party discussion should voluntarily leave the party. That's natural. But in those cases when somebody pursues the policy of setting up factions with their own internal discipline—then the party should take care of that itself. This is normal, too. In the draft statutes we discussed the new interpretation of democratic centralism, with the emphasis on the power of the party masses and their participation in all party affairs in conjunction with party discipline and unity of action following the adoption of decisions. This is vitally important for the party—only in this way can it be combative. Otherwise it runs the risk of being amorphous and engaging in continuous "brawling" instead of work. In that case a separation [razmezhevaniye] would be necessary.

The draft letter which I am discussing has been sent to Central Committee members, Central Committee candidate members, and members of the Central Auditing Commission, and it will be published taking account of their remarks (PRAVDA 11 April).

Question: Why does a party which proclaims itself to be the catalyzing force of society hold its plenums—not to mention Politburo sessions—as if it is an underground organization? Can you, as the top man in the CPSU, state that henceforth and forever more glasnost will be extended to party forums, too, and that plenums and Politburo sessions will be selectively broadcast on Central Television?

Answer: That should be decided by the party itself. We have published the materials of recent plenums virtually in full, without omissions. But I think there will also be Politburo sessions and plenums which will decide to issue brief reports on their work, since the questions under discussion relate to the party's internal life. In each individual case the Central Committee and the Politburo should decide for themselves, democratically. I would not take responsibility for stating beforehand what will actually happen.

Question: Don't you think that the election of the president purely by the Congress of People's Deputies shows a fall in your prestige among the people? Won't the presidency be a halfway house on the road to dictatorship? What guarantee is there that our generation will not have to fundamentally overhaul the socialism developed under perestroyka?

Answer: I think that the president should be elected by the people and enjoy the confidence of the entire people. The presidency will be able to function fully under this procedure, as enshrined in the Constitution. At the same time, in a specific situation when complex processes are taking place in the country, we need decisions and action in accelerating perestroyka, and we needed to resolve the issue of the presidency without wasting any time.

Of course, comrades, this does not mean adjusting the structure of supreme power to suit one individual. I would consider such an approach quite simply degrading and impermissible. The decision was dictated by the logic of perestroyka. It was necessary to introduce the presidency to balance the processes taking place within the framework of political reform. Nor should we forget that the Congress of USSR People's Deputies reflects the people's opinion. The deputies are people elected less than a year ago.

The idea was raised of giving the chairman of the Supreme Soviet presidential powers, but that would have been wrong. First, the presidency is nothing more than a simple extension of the powers of the [Supreme] Soviet chairman. We're talking here not about legislative power, but executive power—and presidential executive power, at that. It is an entirely different structure for the top levels of the state.

Furthermore, I considered it necessary that the vote in this should be contested. I regret that this didn't happen. It doesn't all depend on me. Our opponents—it's not clear why—failed to nominate any candidates.

Will the presidency be a halfway house on the road to a dictatorship? I'm convinced it won't be. Let me say bluntly: If there was a desire for such a thing, it wouldn't have been necessary to change anything or to launch the process of democratization and glasnost, much less the political reform. We could have retained the system that had existed until 1985 and utilized the unlimited opportunities afforded by the position of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. After all, that was an entirely unrestricted dictatorship. The introduction of the presidency is a move toward a rule-of-law state and the separation of powers, toward ensuring that everything is formed by the people and under their control and linked to the Constitution. By continuing the reform process, we can guarantee that we will not get a dictatorship as a result. But the central executive should be strong—I'm convinced of that.

What guarantee is there that "perestroyka socialism" will not have to be fundamentally overhauled? First and foremost, we must continue the reform policy without turning back and without rushing ahead at breakneck speed. You young people have to actively participate in perestroyka right now, put forward your own ideas, and really influence this process. But in general I would say that years will go by, there will be new stages and new problems, and the dynamic process of renewal will continue.

Question: How do you view the resolution of the problem of the consequences of the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station]?

Answer: I believe that we should have a program on that score, and it is at the concluding stage of its preparation—leading organs from the Ukraine, Belorussia, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], and, of course, relevant central departments have been actively participating.

Question: You welcomed the violent overthrow of the Stalinist regimes in Romania and the GDR and called them people's democratic revolutions. Yet you sent troops to Baku in January. Is it possible in principle for a people's democratic revolution to be victorious in a single Soviet republic taken separately?

M.S. Gorbachev read out several other notes from Azerbaijan: "There is a crisis situation on the Azerbaijani-Armenian border. People are being killed and blood is being shed. In what way does the Soviet Government and you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, intend to carry out your constitutional duties of guaranteeing union republics' sovereignty? We know that Internal Affairs Minister Bakatin has proposed declaring a state of emergency in Armenian border regions. What stage of implementation is this proposal at?", "There is a very real war under way on the Azerbaijani border. Isn't it time for the USSR president to take measures?"

As you can see, M.S. Gorbachev said, one question is "Why did you declare martial law?" Another question is "Why don't you declare it?"

I expressed my views on this in my statement (published 11 April). There are, of course, key strategic interests and goals—the renewal of our society and of all the aspects of our life. In our country, which comprises so many nations, success can only be achieved given well-being and normal life in all the country's republics and among all peoples and individuals no matter where they live. Therefore, the problem of interethnic relations is a crucial point in the policy of perestroyka. We must behave very attentively and responsibly in this sphere. Certain people are blaming perestroyka for allegedly having engendered these phenomena. No, they have been engendered by life, by what has built up in this sphere and what has boiled over in conditions of democracy and glasnost. All this would have happened anyhow, the signs were there, we know it.

By reforming the federation, we must find within the framework of the perestroyka process solutions to the nationality question which will harmonize relations between peoples. This is feasible. Wherever acute conflicts have arisen—I have read the messages from Azerbaijan, and there are some from the Armenian delegation on roughly the same topic—we must resolve the issues in a joint effort, overcoming the misgivings of one people suspecting another people of lacking of internationalism and goodwill.

However, there are people who play on ethnic interests in pursuit of their own selfish aims. Democracy and perestroyka have engendered turbulent changes in all parts of the country which affect the interests of the shadow economy, of corrupt elements, and of those who have built themselves little empires, so to speak. No one will dare to raise the banner to defend corruption, but it is possible to make capital out of proceeding under the banner of the defense of ethnic interests. This is what some people are doing, seeking to inflame passions. It is necessary to expose these people, but we must not go as far as to sow mistrust and strife between peoples. Unfortunately, this has not been avoided in some cases and the consequences are causing the justified concern of all people in the Soviet Union. This is why the center has come to the assistance.

We will not sidestep responsibility, there is plenty of goodwill on our part. We believe that relations between the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis are not doomed to remain hostile, they can be restored and develop normally. In the ordinary people of both nations there is much that is good that has taken shape in their relations over decades, and this is what we have to build on in order to resolve pressing issues. And we will provide assistance. In cases where there is a need for disengagement, and where in actual fact all but war is currently being waged, we will have to adopt measures in the realm of administrative organs. I assure you that our attitude to this is a very responsible one.

It must be mentioned that when a certain venture was initiated in Lithuania, "Sajudis" emmissaries turned to certain circles in both Armenia and Azerbaijan with the appeal: "Fan the flames in order to create a front against the center." This must also be borne in mind. A law has now been passed by the Supreme Soviet to put a stop to the activities of those who kindle interethnic strife. Its full force must be applied. And people must be helped to stop in their tracks and to initiate a dialogue with a view to improving relations. Comrades from Armenia and Azerbaijan may rest assured that I as president, the government, and the Central Committee will assist this in every way.

M.S. Gorbachev went on to read out several notes which raised questions of the right of nations to self-determination and the possibility of changing borders inside the country. Dear friends, he said, I have, maybe, pondered longest of all on this problem and consulted with the republics' representatives. I am profoundly convinced that we must on no account let people get drawn into recarving borders. If we start to resort to this in order to resolve problems which have accumulated in nationality relations, we will have to recarve the whole of the Soviet Union. All peoples and nations will clash, and a situation such as not only our country but also the world has never seen will be created.

Which is the way to resolve the problems, and how are we to answer the questions that perturb people? We must make the republics' sovereignty real, and provide economic independence, the possibility of the free development of languages, cultural traditions, etc. The same thing with regard to the autonomous republic, the autonomous oblast, the national okrug, any people. We have embarked on this path, and I believe it is correct.

You will remember that I spent three days traveling around Lithuania. But people did not properly heed the advice given on behalf of the country's leadership, and the separatist party achieved victory. Now the question is this: What is to be done? Several hundred thousand non-Lithuanians live there. What are they, refugees? Again—if the Lithuanian authorities declare secession from the Soviet Union, public opinion in Belorussia has demanded that the republic Supreme Soviet raise the question of repealing the decision adopted in 1940 to hand over some Belorussian lands to Lithuania. The question of Klaipeda has arisen: For several centuries it was part of Germany, but as a result of the war, in accordance with Yalta and Potsdam, it passed to the Soviet Union. These are the sea borders which Russia sought for centuries.

Reports are coming out of Lithuania today that some people are not supplying output and refusing to conclude contracts with Lithuanian enterprises and scientific establishments. The center is trying to prevent a rupture of ties, because we proceed from the mandate of the Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which regarded the decisions of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet as being beyond its powers. Lithuania remains a constituent part of the country, and the constitutional system within it must be protected. This is why we are keeping an eye on deliveries, so that people in Lithuania know that the union government is showing concern for them and so that they can work calmly. And at the same time we are trying to convince the local authorities of the need to repeal decisions that run counter to the USSR Constitution and to reinstate the situation as it was 10 March.

However, it is becoming increasingly difficult to restrain negative processes. People are saying: Why must we place orders in Lithuania if it is leaving the Soviet Union, and is there any guarantee that these orders will be fulfilled? They have begun setting up parallel production facilities—for everything in our country is organized like this: An enterprise in Vilnius is linked with several hundred enterprises in other republics; it only assembles things, while the whole country supplies subassemblies. So, assembly shops are starting to be set up, particularly now that the military-industrial complex is being cut back and corresponding opportunities are emerging. And so, question upon question—human relations, economic ties, territorial problems. We have been developing for decades, on the basis of the division of labor, and our level of production sharing has reached 40-50 percent. How can all this be thrown away!

There is, of course, the constitutional right to self-determination, and the Law on the Procedure for Resolving Questions Connected With a Republic's Secession From the USSR has now been adopted, so let us begin the "divorce process," and, you know, they adopted the decision overnight, without consulting the people, without a referendum—this is an adventure.

Love cannot be compelled, as the saying goes. If there is a desire to leave, you must first of all tell the Lithuanian people what the consequences will be—territorial, economic, in connection with defense and with fixing up those who will not want to remain in another state. This is one option. And this is another: If the republic remains in the Soviet Union, what rights and opportunities—political, economic, cultural-technical, and others—will it receive, what freedom and independence? And then the Lithuanian people, a wise people, will themselves realize that they need independence within the framework of living ties with all republics.

This question must be resolved on the basis of reforming our federation. We will now adopt law after law to renew our union. But if we start to split up, then—I tell you bluntly—we will end up with such a civil war, such bloody carnage, that we will not extricate ourselves from it all together. Everyone must understand this and be on the alert. For we have more than 60 million people living outside the borders of their own national republics. When certain public movements in the Ukraine raised the question of language in a way that would not accord with the interests of Ukrainians, Russians, and people of other nationalities living there, people in the Crimea began collecting signatures expressing a desire for its return to Russia; they collected half a million and stopped, since the correct solution was found. The same thing in the Donbass, in the east of the Ukraine, where

11 million Russians live. And where is the master who would divide up Kazakhstan? Not that anyone there raises such a question, neither Kazakhs nor Russians. They live normally, and it is one of our most international regions.

I believe, comrades, that we have a great store of good will, and we have not lived together for decades (what am I saying, for the roots of cooperation go back centuries!) so as to be unable at the present stage, when the federation is being renewed, to find the right answers to all questions. We have only to be extremely attentive to each other. A people cannot feel calm if relations with other peoples have not been harmonized—this is the path that must be taken.

Question: Does the USSR president intend to ask all the "brains" who have left the country for one reason or another to come back during these difficult years for the state, as China, Japan, and so forth did? Do you still consider yourself a communist or do you see yourself as a member of the CPSU? I see an essential difference here.... It has become a lamentable tradition for the country's leadership to fail to pay the requisite attention to the Urals; will the first USSR president's first visit be to Perm Oblast?

Answer: I will visit the Urals soon. I don't know whether it will be Perm or some other city.... Sverdlovsk is most likely.

As for your second question, I consider myself a communist; this is my profound conviction. I joined the party in March 1952 in Leniniskiy Rayon, while I was at Moscow University, and am grateful to destiny that my life has been linked with it since my youth. I believe that without this neither I nor others would have developed fully as individuals. Despite everything that we now know about our history and the party itself, this does not take away my commitment to the socialist ideal. This commitment has also been maintained in our people, despite all the trials and tribulations; and this is the main criterion. When we propose something people, primarily workers, ask: Does this strengthen socialism? The impulses of October are alive, and this is favorable soil for the policy of restructuring and renewing our society and imparting a new quality to it.

Does the president intend to appeal to everyone who left? The process is underway, we are devoting every attention to these questions. Admittedly there is also the other side of the coin. Some people, at a difficult time for the country, are concluding profitable contracts and leaving to wait it out for a couple of years and stash away a bit of money. I think that it is a question of morality. Although there must be some regulators on the part of the state, which has invested spending in the molding of certain specialists.

We should take measures against the "brain drain." But I see the key to this first and foremost in encouraging talent. We often go in for leveling actions here and therefore do not achieve the requisite result. Talent, skill, proficiency need to be supported. But in our country, when it comes to supporting science, everything is distributed on a leveling basis: Raises have to be paid so junior scientific associates all get R10, senior scientific associates R15, somebody else R50, and so forth.

We need to give incentives for real contributions, not just throw money around, including by rewarding idlers who are on the payroll of scientific collectives while doing nothing. Likewise in production, we must give incentives for productivity and output quality and reward scientists, specialists, engineers, and workers—but on a personal basis, for their personal contribution.

It is not so easy to do this. As soon as a bonus fund appears in a design office or scientific research institute there are demands for it to be divided up equally. And just let someone try to say that this is wrong because Sidorov works well but Ivanov isn't so good. There will always be seven Petrovs who will say: That's self-seeking, let's give everyone R5 each. We need to make a decisive break with this leveling tendency that has become rooted in society. We must reward talent, proficiency, enterprise, and the ability to get things done and meet society's needs.

Question: It is necessary today for the USSR president to be leader of the CPSU, in your view?

Answer: It is necessary today, I believe.

Question: As president and as a person, how do you react to and assess Soviet satirists' topical humor about your personality?

Answer: In general I respect humor. I want you to have plenty of it, particularly during these current years. There is also humor which goes beyond satire and is essentially a form of political struggle. This is also acceptable.

But there are also things that have prompted the Supreme Soviet to submit for discussion the question of defending the president's honor and dignity. Obviously it is also necessary to defend the symbols of our state—its coat of arms, flag, and anthem. We mustn't feel that we are a raggle-taggle team operating on the "I'll do whatever I like" principle. We need to preserve democratic forms and overcome the savagery and viciousness that have now come to the surface. People who wish to toss extremism into this agitated world must be fought in accordance with the law.

Question: What is your attitude to the idea of creating a Union of Young Communists, a CPSU youth organization?

Answer: We want to see a political youth organization marching alongside and working with the party. Everything else, dear friends, you must sort out for yourselves. Any other approach on our part would be a new set of injunctions.

Question: LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA has reported that there are already around 600,000 Russian-speaking refugees from the Transcaucasus and other republics. Why does the Supreme Soviet and the CPSU Central Committee not discuss and resolve this problem?

Answer: We have a considerable number of refugees, primarily Armenians and Azerbaijanis and a section of Meskhetian Turks. There are also Russian families. Refugees in a socialist country during a time of restructuring, when we want to ennoble society and make it democratic and humane, is a real hurt for us. We must do everything to prevent this.

Question: Your attitude to the All-Union Young Pioneers' Organization?

Answer: The best. I am sure that this kind of organization of our children is essential. But it currently suffers from formalism and bureaucratism, and this needs to be resolutely overcome. People ask: Do we not intend to discuss the fate of this children's organization in the party Central Committee? I think that that desire merits a response.

Question: Your opinion on union republic presidencies?

Answer: This topic has been discussed in detail by members of the Council of the Federation. While acknowledging that in the final analysis this is the prerogative of each union republic's supreme soviet and the sovereign right of each union republic, nevertheless the majority advocated not rushing to introduce this institution in the republics.

Question: How long will school and college students continue to be diverted to agricultural work?

Answer: There has now been a sharp reduction in enlistment for this, but farms will probably have to build themselves up in order to manage without it altogether. Admittedly there are collectives of school and college students who have sent the Central Committee and the government letters asking: Why is somebody else deciding this for us, and what if we want to help when we can see something valuable being lost? But these are different things, it seems to me.

Question: Your attitude to Komsomol economic enterprises and cooperatives?

Answer: If the Komsomol becomes a genuinely political youth organization operating alongside the party, these functions will have to become the job and domain of other youth organizations. The Komsomol has begun to do a great deal that is useful through scientific and technical societies and youth housing cooperatives. But a political youth organization should not get involved in strictly cooperative, especially commercial, activity. The right dividing line has to be found here. Helping young people to realize their potential and energy by tackling social, technical, and scientific problems is a trend worth supporting. These are my judgments; ponder them.

Question: When will a law on legal protection for militia workers be adopted?

Answer: Proposals on this subject are being examined, and there has also been an exchange of views in the Presidential Council.

Question: Why do you deny that the CPSU should be a parliamentary party?

Answer: We are not abandoning the struggle for seats on organs of power or for the preservation of the positions of the ruling party. Moreover, the recent elections have shown that party members have emerged from the trenches and are operating more actively. But this does not mean that the party's activity must be restricted to parliamentary questions. The difference between a parliamentary and a vanguard party is immense, and in this context we adhere to the Leninist concept that the party must be the vanguard force of the working class and society, that is it must operate not only within the framework of parliamentary democracy but in all spheres of life, initiating dialogue with social currents and all strata of working people.

Question: Gdlyan and Ivanov are demanding an open parliamentary hearing. What is your position?

Answer: As far as I know, the Supreme Soviet's intention is that as much time as necessary—a day or two—will be set aside so that everyone—Comrades Gdlyan and Ivanov, the commission, and deputies alike—will be given the chance to express their opinion and that it will all be broadcast nationwide, uncut and openly.

Question: What do you think about the All-Union Komsomol having a federative structure? Is it necessary because of the federative structure of the state?

Answer: We adhere to the Leninist approach. Lenin was in favor of a federation as far as state structure is concerned but rejected the federative approach to party building, adopting the class approach and internationalism as the foundation. The Komsomol must resolve this question itself. The party is currently moving toward new decisions; the draft of the new Statutes includes a special section on union republic communist parties. Their status is being enhanced, and provision is being made for the possibility of them formulating their own program and organizational documents, not to mention deciding personnel, financial, and other questions. When we propose the presence of union republic communist party leaders in CPSU leadership organs this already represents an element of federalism. It is probable that something similar is also possible when the organizational forms within which the Komsomol's potential should be realized are discussed and worked out.

Question: Do you intend to end state control of the bulk of all-union property and transfer management of the economy to the localities?

Answer: This process is under way, and indeed all the laws we have adopted create the legal preconditions for this. We need to move away from monopolism and follow the path of removing state control and introducing leaseholding. The only thing is that it is essential to act in such a way that we don't get a new variant of collectivization, that people's aren't forced into leases or joint-stock companies. The final push for every collective and person will come when they reach the right level of maturity for this. On the other hand those who have made this choice need to be protected. Once—in Chelyabinsk Oblast, I think—there was a certain leaseholder who, having taken over a farm and begun to show good results, was branded a kulak and had his farm set on fire. At a Central Committee conference a Ryazan leaseholder described how he could operate normally because the kolkhoz [collective farm] chairman was understanding and well-disposed toward this system, but otherwise everything would have fallen apart. But this man stressed that without the kolkhoz leaseholders would have no prospects, either, because the entire infrastructure—equipment servicing, fuel supplies, marketing of output, social questions—is provided by the kolkhoz. Without this it would have been necessary to create a cooperative to obtain the same services. Therefore it is possible to combine economic independence with the potential of existing large kolkhozes and sovkhozes [state farms].

As for economic management at local level, we are advancing along the path of decentralization, but in combination with a reasonable degree of influence from the center.

Question: How do you assess the government's actions to resolve the complex problems in Tyumen Oblast; can your support be counted on?

Answer: Yesterday I read that the people of Tyumen and the government are cooperating actively. I visited Tyumen; it was an interesting and important visit. We all have an interest in ensuring that the area where the bulk of our oil and considerable proportion of our gas are produced should develop well. Naturally we have an obligation to show concern for the people who work in the harsh conditions there.

After my visit important decisions were adopted and they have had an impact, but the machine building industry's reaction was poor. Incidentally the comrades from Azerbaijan have a lot to answer for—there is a good oil equipment building industry in the republic but they let everyone down and that had an impact on the planned measures. We will support Tyumen in the same way that are supporting other oblasts; its problems have to be resolved.

Question: What is the basis for the statement that the Komsomol is the party's reserve at the present stage?

Answer: A Communist Party cannot function properly unless it has a communist youth league alongside it. Call it a reserve, an assistant—whatever you like—but a party cannot live a normal life without it. It has to replenish its ranks from the ranks of young communists.

Question: What measures are planned to provide social and everyday services for officers and their families withdrawn from Czechoslovakia—apartments, kindergartens, jobs for wives, and so forth. The mood of the officers in our group of forces is good, they are ready to discharge their duty to the motherland, but we would like our families to avoid finding themselves in the position of refugees.

Answer: This question enables me to talk about Army-related things that have appeared in our society and in the press. We must welcome everything that promotes restructuring and renewal in this very important state institution too. I believe that the military, too, are opposed to the Army remaining a bunker with a musty atmosphere. But every support must be given to comrades who fulfill their duty to the motherland and particularly the basic officer corps, up to regiment level, who have to flit around all over the country—wherever they are sent they have to make new arrangements, their children have to change school, their wives have to change jobs. No kind of disrespect must be sown toward the Army; that is intolerable. In my view, talk of a professional army is premature, not to say untimely. At present the state cannot take on the maintenance of such an army. The Army and the officer corps must feel the support of society, the party, the Komsomol, and the state.

Military reform is coming, it is in the pipeline, and I intend to hold a number of meetings with officers and generals at various levels to ascertain their opinions and listen to what they have to day.

As for officers' social and everyday living conditions, this is a most sensitive question today, and we have decided that there needs to be a government program on this. I have given corresponding instructions to the Ministry of Defense, and the program will soon be submitted for examination by the government, the Defense Council, and the Presidential Council. We must come to the Army's assistance both at central level and in all the republics, but it is also necessary to include the Army's own possibilities and utilize some of what is currently being allocated for solving social problems.

Question: Alongside the CPSU Platform for the 28th party congress we have also seen the emergence of the "Democratic Platform," which is supported by a considerable number of communists. Has the Politburo defined its attitude to this document, and what is your viewpoint on this question?

Answer: First, we decided that this platform should be published and discussed by communists. PRAVDA published it, and a discussion on the subject is taking place in the party. Those who criticize the draft CPSU Platform from conservative positions consider that there is virtually no difference between it and the "Democratic Platform," that both are revisionist.

How do I view this? There is indeed a great deal of overlap between these documents. But the "Democratic

Platform" contains nothing in terms of socioeconomic problems. In general it is not even a platform, it deals mainly with organizational matters. The differences are over a parliamentary-type party and democratic centralism. From this viewpoint I hold the positions of the CPSU Platform.

I do not think that those who have associated themselves one way or another with the "Democratic Platform" are enemies of the CPSU; they can contribute a great deal that is constructive and useful. It is another matter that this current—like in the case of people's fronts and ethnic movements—has been "harnessed" by a group of political figures who want to use the party masses as the basis for realizing their ambitions and thereby showing that they represent the progressive forces in the party. And when you listen to these people, who consider themselves the leaders of "Democratic Platform," you detect that they are calling us all toward capitalism, toward another system. It is essential to see this.

Question: When will you leave the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and whom will you leave it to?

Answer: I have already said that, for the time being, we need to combine posts. Although this is difficult, the transfer of functions is a very important and responsible process. It needs to be carried out normally so as to ensure that everything takes place within a democratic framework and we achieve a new role for the soviets and the party. If we divided the posts now just to satisfy some people's slogans, diarchy and confrontation could emerge in the country.

Question: Why has there still been no party assessment of the situation in the Komsomol and the program for collaboration to get out of the crisis? What is your attitude to a possible parting of the ways [razmezhevaniye] at the Komsomol congress into two trends—the communist direction and the social democratic direction?

Answer: We probably need some kind of forum, perhaps a joint session of party Central Committee and Komsomol plenums. Let's do the following: You hold your congress, we'll hold ours, and let's work on the basis that young and old communists will meet later to discuss matters.

How do I view a possible parting of the ways at the Komsomol congress? I'm counting on consolidation taking place, but on a principled rather than pro forma basis, so to speak. I'm working on the basis that you will act with great responsibility, remembering the country and our times.

M.S. Gorbachev was asked to speak about the situation in Lithuania.

The situation in Lithuania is ambiguous, he said, and the decisions adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the president are not being fulfilled. We abide by the political approach and hope to resolve the problem on this basis. This accords with the spirit of perestroyka and democracy, although many telegrams are issuing from the country which demand the introduction of presidential rule. Do we rule out this option? I do not think we can rule out anything, for we must act with due regard for the situation. If the situation proves to be such that only presidential rule can guarantee people's safety and keep the situation under control, so that it does not assume a very acute nature and develop into a civilian conflict or even confrontation, then it will be necessary to resort to presidential rule. But this is an extreme case, and I hope that we will find a solution.

Question: There is no representative of the younger generation on the Presidential Council. Do you think there's a need for one? We do.

Answer: The Presidential Council is still taking shape. You've also drawn attention to the fact that there's no woman on it, and I think there should be.

Question: Why do local party organs find no time and show no desire to work with young people? Why aren't they concerned in practice about the future of the party and the country? I'm not talking about tutelage, but about concern and an interested attitude toward young people. When are party members going to be held responsible for their verbal attacks on the Komsomol's political and economic activity? This isn't comradely criticism, it's a position of malicious complacency on the part of older comrades.

Answer: I cannot excuse that attitude. I was engaged in full-time Komsomol work for several years and I know how hard it is for young people and the Komsomol to realize their potential if they don't meet with understanding and support. I accept that as a rebuke against me, too. This comment should be heard in the Central Committee and throughout the party.

Question: How long do you plan to lead the Communist Party? How will you act in a situation when the president's opinion differs from that of Politburo members?

Answer: People, admittedly with different positions, are asking me that question all the time. I have just met with representatives of RSFSR party organizations making up the organizational committee for the preparation of a Russian party conference. The comrades there came up to me and asked if it was true that I was "dumping the party." It sounded like a rebuke. I said that there was no question of that, although combining posts is an extremely difficult business. After all, there is a huge amount of work in both areas.

Comrades help me, and this makes things work. In the future the party itself must decide, and the congress will return to this issue and examine it. Currently, while we are regrouping political forces and shaping the power of the soviets, the party is assimilating its new duties and functions—that is simply necessary.

When opinions differ, we try to bring positions closer together during the discussion. Nowadays not a single Politburo or Presidential Council session displays formalistic complacency. There are contrasting views and a search for consensus on each question.

Question: Are you preparing a young successor to continue your work? And if so, who is it?

Answer: Let's hope that there's a successor in this hall. Now it's the task of the trailblazers to work out just who that'll be.

Question: When will militia workers' powers correspond to their official duties?

Answer: Comrades representing internal affairs organs are rightly raising this question. On the eve of the formation of the Presidential Council I discussed it with V.V. Bakatin. He made proposals which are being developed. We believe that full demands should be made of internal affairs organs, prosecutor's offices, and all other law enforcement organs to ensure that they act effectively in defending the law. That is the general demand of the entire people. But, to this end, these organs need all the necessary powers.

Question: Would you say that Lenin is your ideal? If so, why don't you act in a Leninist fashion toward your opponents? After all, he was not reluctant to rout them in the open through the press. But you most often talk in general terms, dropping hints about certain officials.

Answer: I'll take that criticism to heart.

Question: The delegation from the Kaliningrad Oblast Komsomol organization is raising the question of the fate of that oblast.

Answer: That oblast's leadership has now made proposals about the prospects for its development. These proposals are being examined by the RSFSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] and Council of Ministers. This is the most westerly oblast in the country, and it will have all the necessary attention and support from the center. Don't get upset about anything, resolve your tasks calmly.

Question: What is your attitude to the expulsion of Gdlyan and Ivanov from the CPSU?

Answer: That was decided by a party organization, and I have no reason to query the communists' decision.

Question: What's your attitude to the burgeoning number of samizdat leaflets? Most of them are about Kremlin intrigues, and some even mention your name. If they're lies, why has there been no attempt to repudiate them on your part?

Answer: In general, of course, these things do come to my attention. Sometimes they show very "interesting" pictures of me, or state that Gorbachev has a Swiss bank account, a villa on the shores of Lake Geneva, another dacha on some island in the Baltic, and so forth. I once made it clear in IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS just what the general secretary's privileges are. The article was reprinted, I think, in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, but nonetheless all these accusations go on being made. I thought: Surely I don't need to demean myself to say I'm not a criminal, I'm not on the make, and so forth. That's just degrading.

I think that there should be mechanisms in a rule-of-law state to protect the honor and dignity of everyone, including, of course, the country's president. This process is already under way in the Supreme Soviet.

As for other matters, I pass on everything I receive on these subjects to the Supreme Soviet commissions for them to look into it. I think I'm doing the right thing. Although I've been told that when I don't issue a repudiation, people get the impression that the authorities are keeping quiet—it means that they're scared of something, they've taken umbrage. The idea being to force a decent and honorable person to prove that he's not a camel. If we allow such trends to develop, we will have out-and-out scandals rather than a rule-of-law state. I think we need to create legal mechanisms to ensure that those doing this are held responsible.

I must say that this is not the first time I've encountered this sort of thing in my political life. I first came across it with former minister Shchelokov and his crew. In 1973-1974, in my fourth year as first secretary of the party kraykom [kray party committee] in Stavropol, a crime wave blew up: People wouldn't go into the city at night, and wives on late shift would be met at work by their husbands because there were robberies, violence, and killings going on. Yet the figures supplied by our kray internal affairs administration were normal.

That was when we discovered the blatant violations of socialist legality at the internal affairs organs, fired the entire kray administration—starting with the chief—and replaced the leaders of 15 urban rayon departments. The Komsomol, young people, leaders, and the public were mobilized, and peace and quiet were restored within two weeks. But this had cast such a shadow over the Ministry of Internal Affairs that all kinds of investigations and clashes ensued. The Prosecutor's Office protected Stavropol people. Moreover, our example was followed in Sverdlovsk Oblast. Matters there came to a head in a more dramatic way—the chief of the Sverdlovsk City Department committed suicide because abuses in the militia were exposed. This was not forgiven for a long time: I had the feeling that they were constantly looking for something to compromise Gorbachev with. Even now accusations are made. I think that this is being done for political motives by those who've had their toes trodden on and who feel that perestroyka will unmask them.

Let's be principled and not bow to attempted blackmail. Let's consistently pursue the processes that have been begun, not least by bringing order to the system of privileges. Incidentally, proposals have now been drawn up to establish everything to which the president, prime minister, and other officials are entitled, to officially publicize this, and to put a stop to the debates on the subject. We ourselves have emerged from among the people and we cannot allow things to stay the way they were—we had found ourselves in a situation where we were being dictated to by traditions. We need to destroy this system and get rid of it. This countrywide purge will not be painless, there will be backlashes, but, not to worry, we can take it. We have already decided a great many things and will see them through to their conclusion.

Question: Cases of the manifestation of anti-Semitic feelings are now increasingly frequent in the country, and abnormal conditions are being created for the life and activity of Jews in the USSR. What measures do you plan to take to settle this conflict?

Answer: I believe we should not allow nationalism, chauvinism, anti-Semitism, or any other "-isms" to run riot. We have to move down the road of harmonizing interethnic relations and create legal, economic, and social conditions for people of all nationalities to feel confident wherever they may be. I can see no other way. [Gorbachev ends]

M.S. Gorbachev's replies to the questions from delegates to the 21st Komsomol Congress were listened to with great interest, and there was repeated applause in the auditorium. Thanking him for his address, V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, said: "I'm in a difficult position—there are still 320 written questions, and many people expressed a desire to speak and ask their question in person. But, nonetheless, party and state leaders will take part in the congress sessions and will be able to meet, talk, and discuss things with you."

CPSU Committees Propose Central Committee Plenum

LD1204192490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Here is some news from Leningrad which has just been brought into our studio from the editorial office.

A protocol to hold a CPSU Central Committee plenum to discuss the state of affairs in the party was made today at the joint plenum of the oblast and city CPSU committees. The participants in the plenum discussed in detail the open letter from the CPSU Central Committee to the country's communists. The discussion revealed the most diverse points of views on this document. For instance, Orekin, a worker at the Kalinin works association, stated that the letter which has been published came several years too late. In turn, Petrosyan, the head of the Leningrad branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, expressed the conviction that the publication of the open letter does not weaken, but on the contrary, exacerbates the tendency toward a split in the party, inasmuch as in Leningrad many members of the CPSU are on the democratic platform.

The plenum took note of the letter from the CPSU Central Committee and decided to discuss it in all primary orgnizations of the city and oblast.

It has been proposed to party committees and bureaus to step up the discussion of the pre-congress documents and to make every effort for it to proceed in a truly democratic, comradely and creative atmosphere.

Moscow TV Interviews Chairman Laptev 6 Apr

LD0804081390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1805 GMT 6 Apr 90

[from the "View" program, presented by Vladislav Listyev and Aleksandr Lyubimov]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] Thus, the guest of our studio is the new chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the Supreme Soviet, Ivan Dmitriyevich Laptev, better known as people's deputy and as the editor in chief of IZVESTIYA, at least according to our previous programs. First of all we congratulate you on your election to this post.

[Laptev] Thank you. Thank you.

[Presenter] I have the following question for you in connection with this. Do you personally, as a man, have any political passions?

[Laptev] It goes without saying that everyone of us has political passions. Not one of us can be free from his convictions, views, positions of any kind. This is what political passions are. We imagine the future of our society in one form or another, our place in this society, and this is also political passion. Finally, we envisage in different ways the paths of moving to this future.

[Presenter] Ivan Dmitriyevich, does it not seem to you that a more fair attitude on the part of the presidium is needed toward people with unusual points of view which after six months, or sometimes after a year, become universally accepted?

[Laptev] I entirely agree with you. Only it seems—and I have already, speaking after my election, talked about this in our parliament—we must simply learn to understand one another more and respect another point of view more.

In general we are brought up to assume that the correct point of view is our own one and it is very difficult to take on board another point of view. And, besides, we must take account of the fact—and this seems extremely important—that we are dealing with an extraordinary parliament. You see, the Soviet parliament is completely extraordinary. People have come here who have never been professional politicians, at least the majority of them. They have brought with them to the Kremlin palaces and halls their concepts of that work, of forms of activity and of forms of achieving goals which were in other spheres of their life activity. [passage omitted]

[Presenter] What will happen to the IZVESTIYA newspaper?

[laptev] The IZVESTIYA....

[presenter] It is obvious what it will be! [chuckles] It seems to us that it is a brilliant newspaper!

[Laptev] Well, fine. I thank you for your kind words about the newspaper. And only yesterday we held a party meeting and talked for a long time about this in the newspaper, and the collective there intends, so to speak....

[Presenter, interrupting] But a meeting of what party?

[Laptev] Of the Communist Party. You see, so far in the newspaper other parties are not yet present, although we do not rule out that they may appear there and we also have an unbiased attitude on this matter.

[Presenter] But, nonetheless, who will be the editor in chief?

[Laptev] I will not make any guesses on that. I want to say quite categorically that now a collective has formed in the IZVESTIYA newspaper of which, well, simply forgive me as a human being for such weakness, I am simply proud. Because I have put much effort in the formation and selection of people. And I consider that there are several people there who can take and run not only this newspaper, but also any other central newspaper.

[Presenter] Incidentally, I would like at the conclusion of our conversation to wish that you and your activity in the Soviet parliament will achieve the same results which you have achieved in your newspaper.

[Laptev] You must look at how quickly people are growing up in our parliament. We may critically relate to a number of positions, to speeches and to certain draft laws. But look at how quickly people are growing. If we use Solzhenitsyn's phrase, how quickly they are becoming civilized. That is what he once wrote. People are becoming real statesmen. Maturity of judgement, boldness of judgement, that is, the ability to assume tasks. High requirements. And, if you have ever looked, I, so to speak, think that you know this, but perhaps you don't, if you watch how deputies are working now. You see, they are working literally day and night because I did not say for nothing that we have no laws in many areas. Thus, you discussed the question of Lithuania just now. That is, I saw this episode going on. You understand, we have only just now adopted a law on the order of resolving disputes, questions rising in connection, that is to say, with such situations. How did that law proceed, in what struggle, in what arguments, in what discussions? After all, there is no precedent.

[Presenter] Of course.

[Laptev] In this respect I think that the growth of the deputies in parliament is very substantial. I would be very happy if indeed, and I think we would all be glad, if people emerge in parliament who are capable of leading any state institutions or carrying out any large political measures and implementing the political course for which we are all actually fighting amid the difference in our views.

[Presenter] Thank you, Ivan Dmitriyevich. We hope that you will come to our program again. Although you will be extremely busy!

CPSU's Brutents Views State of Party

AU0804155090 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 6 Apr 90 p 12

[Interview with Karen Brutents, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, by Christian Schmidt-Haeuer; date and place not given: "God Almighty Did Not Promise Us Anything"]

[Text] [Schmidt-Haeuer] According to Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Union will change over to a qualified market economy as of 1 July. On 2 July, the 28th CPSU Congress will take place. Does a majority in the Central Committee not think that the attempt to change over to a market economy means crossing the Rubicon ideologically?

[Brutents] Why? In our platform for the party congress, we stated already that plan-market relations must be introduced. It will be a fully functioning market, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev announced in his first speech as president. The problem does not exist in introducing market relations, but in the relationship between the mechanisms of the market and the forms of regulating it. How can such supply-money relations be introduced which open up to all those who take part in economic life a broad field of activities on the basis of full equality, on the one hand, and which create a basis of control and social justice, on the other? That is where I see the problem, and where the overwhelming majority of the Central Committee members see it, too.

[Schmidt-Haeuer] Politburo member Yegor Ligachev is seeing forces at work which want to "restore social democracy, private ownership, and capitalist production," and he was much applauded at the recent Central Committee plenum when he said so.

[Brutents] Market relations were taboo for too long, for decades. That has, of course, left deep impressions. However, I am sure that the majority of the Central Committee has now realized that such relations are unavoidable. We have also purged some of Lenin's thoughts of the Stalinist dogmas—thoughts which stress the significance of the money-supply relationship. So we are not committing total anticommunist heresy. Therefore, I do not think that a market economy is automatically connected with social democracy in our country. There may, however, be different views. The decisive questions are: To what extent will market economy relations be introduced? What type of control mechanism will be required? There may be different points of view on this problem. But a Central Committee member would have to be blind to fail to see that market economy relations are required.

[Schmidt-Haeuer] At the Central Committee plenum, many people advocated the principle of democratic centralism again and sought to define communism as the CPSU's final goal once again. Have such demands not been totally overtaken by developments?

[Brutents] Regarding the building of communism: It is a symbol, a birthmark, so to speak. Even though this goal now seems to be farther away than ever, it is difficult to give it up. One just does not want to give up such a symbol. Regarding democratic centralism: We live at a time now in which we are learning to understand words. We must clarify for ourselves what democratic centralism means. In the West, it is considered a bogeyman. However, this is no longer Stalin's democratic centralism which killed the soul of the party. Changing a living organ into a crusader's order, or into a militarized organization where total submission was considered to be the best virtue of party members, and where all elements of democracy were banned on behalf of an abstract goal of party life—that was certainly one of the biggest crimes which has not at all been sufficiently discussed.

On the other hand, we are now also dealing with the problem of holding Stalin alone responsible. I do not at all want to absolve the party leaders of the twenties, who were defeated in the controversy, from every responsibility. The party also bears its share of responsibility for having accepted such a thing.

The party is now undergoing a process of democratic self-determination and can no longer be kept to the tight reins of democratic centralism. Only one thing is important for us: We are opposed to groups within the party, and we do not want it to be a discussion club.

[Schmidt-Haeuer] If you are opposed to groups, the CPSU—judged by its present spectrum—is bound to split into several parties, is it not?

[Brutents] The party is now undergoing a process of political renaissance. It has risen from lethargy to political activity. Now things are becoming very heated. Different standpoints manifest themselves and are emotionally charged. The result is a plurality of opinions. I think, however, that it is more marked on the surface than below. We are also undergoing a learning process regarding tolerance and compromise readiness. Personal ambitions are involved. Some people are ready to wear any mask to rise. However, as time passes, discussion and the exchange of opinions will lead to curbing the emotional explosions. Then a foundation will be created allowing the party to gather new forces. When that happens—hopefully in the not too distant future—we will see that outside this framework, within which I would like to see the majority of the party continue, a certain number of people will be able to found their own party or parties. However, I hope that the relationship between these sections will be such as not to mean fragmentation [Spaltung], but splinter groups [Abspaltung].

[Schmidt-Haeuer] Developments in the national republics are exactly the other way around. In Lithuania, the CPSU followers have split off as a Russian minority party, and similar developments will take place in other parts of the country. Following the splitting off in the RSFSR, the CPSU is threatening to become the reservoir of the conservative majority.

[Brutents] The task is, of course, very complicated. It is not only an internal party affair, but our common social and political affair. We have started restructuring our entire system. Now everybody sees that the revolution which was proclaimed in 1985 was not just intended for the headlines. We are pushing revolutionary change, and at the same time, we also want to restructure our party. As a historian, I do not know of any comparable transition in history. Nor do I want to claim that we will in any case be successful. God Almighty did not promise us anything in this respect.

[Schmidt-Haeuer] Who would be ready now to accept advice from the party? Not even the skeptical consideration of opinion polls, which have now also become fashionable in the Soviet Union, changes anything about the fact that only a small part of the people and an almost equally small part of the comrades believe in the party and communism. If the CPSU keeps to realities, the only prospect left for it is being one among many parliamentary parties.

[Brutents] Even though opinion polls are only relatively objective, the trend toward a declining authority of the party does indeed exist. That is a natural process, because the party has honestly accepted responsibility for the past. It has also accepted responsibility for the economic situation, even though it has meanwhile withdrawn from the field of state-controlled economy. There is no structure outside the party, which could be blamed in this respect. The party is in delay regarding its own restructuring. It has no alternative but to fight for its authority once again—and not to hold anything against anybody. However, I believe that we have already embarked on the path to becoming a parliamentary party. Differentiating polemically between avant- garde and parliamentary parties seems to me to be artificial. We mean by avant-garde party today a politically progressive part of society, which offers progressive prospects and fights for their implementation. However, we are also a parliamentary party, because we are ready to face the electorate's judgment in ballots. For us, the democratically elected parliament is the highest state authority. It ranks before the party.

[Schmidt-Haeuer] Almost every party wants to be the vanguard. The difference is that in the Western parliaments there are four, five, or more parties at the vanguard in this sense with equal rights....

[Brutents] Let us talk about this in one year....

[Schmidt-Haeuer] Now the Bulgarian Communist Party has changed its name to "socialist." Other East European communist parties....

[Brutents] Formerly, we also called ourselves the "Social Democratic Party...."

[Schmidt-Haeuer] And maybe you will again in the future?

[Brutents] That is hard to say. We do not feel bad about our name. However, not the name but the contents of the program are decisive. One can repaint a firm's nameplate without changing anything else in the store. It is more important that the CPSU platform will renounce the simplified approach according to the class scheme, face up to the general human values and the people's interests, and assume the responsibility to lead society to a human, democratic socialism. As far as humanism and democracy are concerned, the party still owes much to the people.

[Schmidt-Haeuer] Is this debt not also paid off by clear fronts and demarcation lines?

[Brutents] Is the term "communist" to blame for the things we have done? We might have also done these things as a "socialist party." Remember how you abused the beautiful world socialism. Remember "socialist" Mussolini.

[Schmidt-Haeuer] Let us stick to the objective of democratic socialism. Many of its adherents are concerned that the future Russian communist party might become a nationalist-conservative stronghold against perestroyka.

[Brutents] There is such a trend. However, I do not believe that it is prevailing. The elections actually confirmed this. We have to keep track of the trend; if we ignore it, it might take on dangerous forms. However, it seems to me that in the Russian Republic and in the whole of the country there are enough party members who also support perestroyka and, at the same time, see Russia's difficulties. One cannot fail to see these difficulties. But many who point them out have nothing to do with Russian nationalism. Let us only take the refugees as an example. Where did the expellees of the nationalist riots find a home—a better or worse one, which is another problem? In Russia!

[Schmidt-Haeuer] Let us deal with your own house, the Moscow Central Committee building. It is repeatedly reported that there is irritation and disgruntlement under this roof because long ago Gorbachev started to rule without the party headquarters and he hardly ever consults the Central Committee.

[Brutents] I will answer you in this way: Mikhail Sergeyevich remains the general secretary of the Central Committee and fulfills, as far as I know, all his functions. He not only fulfills, but also respects them, as they are his responsibility. The Presidential Council was created. This is a natural redistribution of power. The people here are probably not yet accustomed to this.

[Schmidt-Haeuer] What is your forecast for the party congress on 2 July: Will the CPSU survive it as one party or will there be two parties?

[Brutents] Forecasts are the most unappreciated thing in the world. I hope that the variety that we see now will result in a common basis on which the CPSU will be able to hold its party congress. However, I also do not rule out that several party members will stay away from this basis. I do not know what they will do. However, I cannot rule out that somebody will try to establish a new party.

Bogomolov Comments on Plight of Social Sciences

PM1104105590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Academician O.T. Bogomolov, director of the USSR Academy of Science Economics of the World Socialist System Institute and USSR people's deputy, by I. Prelovskaya under the rubric "Viewpoint": "Road to Common Sense. Why Social Sciences Are Finding It So Hard To Overcome the Crisis"—first three paragraphs are introduction; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Scientists are increasingly often criticized from the loftiest platforms: How come, though we have a tremendous intellectual potential, we have all of a sudden realized our theoretical defenselessness and are again asking ourselves fundamental, basic questions: What is socialism? What kind of society are we living in? What ideals are we seeking? People are also blaming science for having failed to forecast the negative processes that have gathered strength during the years of perestroyka.

The theses regarding the state and prospects of the social sciences prepared by an extremely respectable scientific community and recently published for discussion cite as the determining features of their crisis the "social sciences' marked isolation from life and their inability to profoundly reveal social processes, their causes, and their trends," demand "liberation from dogmatism and scholasticism," and caution "against unthinkingly transferring to the present everything that was said by the classics."

What are the hopes of a way out of the crisis? Academician O.T. Bogomolov, director of the USSR Academy of

Science Economics of the World Socialist System Institute and USSR people's deputy, reflects on this in conversation with our observer.

[Prelovskaya] Oleg Timofeyevich! As I read the theses, I caught myself thinking that many points were painfully familiar. I remember a philosopher, taking 1956 as his starting point, comparing remarks made by Academician P. Fedoseyev decades apart, and it transpired that this patriarch of social sciences had tirelessly called on his colleagues to mount a resolute struggle against dogmatism and rote, against isolation from life, and for the creative development of theory. But it looks as though the social sciences have simply been marking time. For if you proceed from the premise that "only social practice can pass a final assessment on knowledge," that assessment certainly cannot please us. How deep does this braking mechanism lie?

[Bogomolov] In a stagnant society science could be no exception. But both in society and in science, the illness activates immune forces. The fostering and cultivation of ossified dogmas and stereotypes was countered by a desire to escape the oppression of official prescriptions. And although progressive thought had to force its way through the concrete, without it I think it would have been impossible to define the program principles of perestroyka within a short time. There was a need for groundwork of knowledge. And the services of perestroyka's initiators include the fact that there was a demand for this theoretical groundwork, so that society's energy could be channeled in a new direction.

Today it is hard to speak of the crisis in the social sciences without looking back. In our country the social sciences were under special political control. The relevant component of the CPSU Central Committee kept a close eye on scientists, recording even the slightest deviation from the canons. Understandably, it was those who vigilantly guarded dogma who prospered in the scientific community. I remember how hard it was in 1970 to defend the report submitted by our scientist A. Butenko to a Lenin conference in which he analyzed Lenin's changing views on socialism. What even a schoolchild now knows was seen not merely as seditious but as sacrilegious. After all, according to the guidelines of the time, Lenin could not have revised his views, he uttered only truths. Around 15 years ago O. Latsis, who is now deputy chief editor of KOMMUNIST, wrote a little book about our party's economic policy before and during industrialization. Basing himself on the documents, he traced how abruptly Stalin made a volte-face from criticism of Trotskiy to application of his ideas. At the time the manuscript was not intended for publication, but it found its way to the KGB and Party Control Committee by some mysterious route. The scientist had a lot of trouble before he transferred to our institute. In the late seventies Academician I. Frolov, now chief editor of PRAVDA and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was dismissed from the leadership of the journal VOPROSY FILOSOFII. Surmounting our philosophy's isolation from contemporary science, the journal had conducted debates with the participation of prominent physicists, biologists, and psychologists, but even this was seen as going further than was permissible. That are just a few details characterizing the atmosphere in which we had to work until recently. And of course, there were also more tragic events if you recall, for instance, the smashing of sociology during the Brezhnev-Suslov years.

But the foundation of the dramatic condition in which the social sciences find themselves to this day was laid far earlier, back at the dawn of the existence of our social system. Even back then science found itself rigidly bound up with ideology. The party, which had monopolized power, needed to have the only correct, infallible theory. Those who deviated from the line indicated from the top of the party pyramid began to be called counterrevolutionaries, lackeys of the world bourgeoisie, and so forth. It is no accident that economists were among the first to suffer back when there was an alternative to barracks socialism. Outstanding economists were accused of wrecking, beginning with N. Kondratyev, author of the world-recognized theory of long waves of economic activeness, and along with him A. Chayanov, A. Chelintsev, N. Makarov, and others who contended that it was disastrous to do violence to economic laws and opposed the destruction of the market and the plundering of the peasantry. The debates ended in arrests, and the victors celebrated their triumph on the bones of opponents who had been not theoretically defeated, but physically annihilated.

Totalitarianism had no need of objective, still less critical, analysis of reality. But where doubts and questions end, the place of science is taken by militant dogma. Marxism-Leninism was turned into this kind of catechism in our country and was stripped of its right to scientific development and to analyze and interpret new knowledge and experience. Attempts at resistance, glimmers of thought, and the desire to compare theory with real life were proclaimed to be revisionism, evoked doubts as to the scientists' party and civic reliability, and were severely punished. So where did competition between minds, talents, and ideas come in? Social scientists were bred in this way from generation to generation....

[Prelovskaya] But now all the indications are that the authorities are no longer pressuring scientists. Although do you not think that, having got rid of censorship "from above," you still remain under ideological pressure "from below?" Society itself is finding it difficult to abandon its illusions.

[Bogomolov] Social thought is of course being emancipated thanks to perestroyka. But we have not rejected the mechanism for controlling the social sciences and gearing them to ideological aims. This is precisely what constitutes the braking mechanism. It is not easy to stop the momentum of its operation because the ideologization of our entire life and therefore also of social consciousness has been taken to almost absurd lengths in our country.

The "socialist market," "socialist ownership," "socialist statehood," "socialist realism"—everything always has to be different from what everybody else has. Everything is most advanced and progressive, or so we told ourselves. But the basic essence of common human concepts did not change merely because ideological overtones were added to them, they simply lost their meaning. The market means freedom for seller and buyer, freedom of competition. Without them there is no market. But the ideological symbol precisely denied those freedoms. Or: How are we to describe works that idealize reality? Romantic, neoclassicist, utopian? How did realism, of all things, come in here?

Or take, for instance, the concept of private ownership. It is so overideologized in our country that it frightens people. But people in the West now use the term in a different sense from us. Foreign civil law uses the term private to describe ownership that is not public or state ownership: cooperative ownership, joint-stock ownership, or ownership by labor collective or individuals. Over there private ownership is a broad concept that has changed since the classic authors used it. But we have to differentiate it, thinking up a name for each bit. We seek euphemisms that would make it possible somehow to do without the ill-starred term. In order to restore the social sciences to a state of normality, we must begin to use common human language without obscuring the meaning of things. And we should no longer take terms from the old political vocabulary in order to describe present-day phenomena. That merely confuses us all and arouses pointless passions.

The revival of the social sciences is directly linked with the dawning clarity in society's consciousness. If you are guided by the Marxist teaching, ideology should develop from analysis of life. But in our country everything was quite the reverse. The ideological goal was presented as axiomatic and, whether you liked it or not, you had to base yourself on it no matter how life might oppose this. But even now we say that we will not surrender our socialist gains to anyone, we will not give up our socialist values, as though there were someone who would like to grab them. But if we deem the supreme value to be people's good, that is, their quality of life, concern for health, worthy labor remuneration, the level of education, and social protection, let us both judge and compare on the basis of this criterion. But the comparison will not be in our favor, because social guarantees for people in the West are far more fully represented than they are in our country.

We usually claim that in 1917 our people opted for socialism. But back then the people had no idea of socialism, and Lenin himself acknowledged the "radical change in our whole viewpoint on socialism" a few years later.

The people followed the slogans "Peace for the peoples!", "Land for the peasants!", and "Power to the soviets!" Only later was Stalin's notion of socialism, a social system that proved to have no prospects, foisted on them. Of course, it is painful to acknowledge that at the price of great enthusiasm and difficult trials and tribulations for the sake of the future, we have not built something that can make people happy, free, humane, and, finally, simply well fed. But unless we say this it is difficult to choose our road from this point on. And, basing itself firmly on reality and renouncing ideological prohibitions, the science of society cannot avoid reviewing its accumulated knowledge about our society, beginning with the original plan and its premises.

The ideologized approach toward life compelled social scientists to cut themselves off from world scientific thought. We were not allowed to read even the works of those Western economists who, in analyzing the USSR's development, impartially revealed its negative aspects. Only recently have we been able to publish the critical judgments about us of prominent foreign academics like Galbraith or Leontieff.

[Prelovskaya] In one interview Galbraith remarked that, though he tendered in advance his "resignation" from the post of our economic adviser, he was nevertheless prepared to express the thought which he regards as most important, namely: "In economics you must be guided not by ideological but by practical considerations," although he knows from his own country that "there is strong pressure from ideological stereotypes and it is difficult to arrive at practically based decisions." Are we capable of accepting good advice? You wonder about that when you hear warnings from various quarters that "many people are attempting not to competently adapt market relations to our present-day economy but to push the country onto the capitalist path of development." "Comrade Academicians," you are asked, "where is the mechanism that will protect ordinary people from the diktat of the Soviet bourgeois?"

[Bogomolov] If we want to recover, it is time not to proceed from utopian notions about the future but to turn our gaze toward what has already been tried and tested. Communism is still a utopian concept, more a religious concept than a real one. You can believe in it, but we have no scientific data in order to paint a cogent picture of that society. Attempts to put into practice certain communist ideas have unfortunately cost the lives of millions of people. But notwithstanding all the present cataclysms, the socialist idea lives on, although there are various concepts of socialism. In choosing our path, we too should base ourselves on indisputable criteria of social progress.

According to the Marxist teaching, the transition from one stage of society's development to another is based on higher labor productivity. But we have come up against the fact that the latest technologies do not fit into our economic mechanism and we are not standing up to competition from the West. So what then, is capitalism being restored in our country? Are we attempting to restore something that has been rejected by history? Those who say so obviously proceed from the premise that we have built the most progressive social system. By allowing private ownership and the market we will be taking a backward step. But is the basic premise correct? How can you describe as socialism a society in which people are alienated from power and from the means of production?

Various descriptions have now been invented: barracks socialism, pseudosocialism, state monopoly socialism, and so forth. But if he probes the very nature of our social relations, in my view, a conscientious scientist cannot fail to recognize the presence in them of elements of a semifeudal system, admittedly on a more or less modern technical base. There is the partial serfdom of the working person, who is unable to freely change his place of residence given the restriction on residence permits and the purchase of housing, the extra-economic coercion, the lack of a market, and, in essence, physical exchange and distribution. Unlike the capitalist, who is subordinated to economic laws, the feudal ruler, even if he appears in the guise of the state, himself decides how much to take and how much to give. In our country the proportion of necessary labor that is reimbursed to working people today is far smaller than it is in the developed countries! Therefore the degree of exploitation of man is also far higher. The total volume of production of various material assets in our country is approximately in line with U.S. production in the early sixties, but inhabitant of America then had a living standard that was 100-150 percent higher. In general, we now receive for each hour's work sometimes five, sometimes 10 times less than a worker in the West receives.

The problems of exploitation cannot today be raised as dogmatically as before. In conditions of flagrant mismanagement we take an ever-increasing share of the product created by working people in order to cover these costs. But is this not exploitation? We have essentially destroyed ownership relations. The property of the whole people proved to be nobody's, and no matter how me might dignify our working people by calling them masters of production, they remain hired workers. In our country, admittedly, some people describe the state apparatus as the owner of the means of production, but ownership is always associated with appropriation, and have bureaucrats linked their income with the amount of property? On the contrary, they have nearly always frittered it away. Land reclamation workers threw away billions of rubles without benefit to society and lived in clover.

We have yet to restore the concept of ownership as an economic category and as a legal norm. It is important to realize that an owner has the full right to dispose of his property and to appropriate the result of its utilization. A collective that is an owner is independent of commands from on high and can follow economic interest in its actions. It is important to regulate political interference in the economy and to define its legitimate limits. And the fact that we are gradually arriving at this is a breakthrough in itself.

The social sciences are faced with a mass of problems and essentially it is necessary, so to speak, to get our economic theory the right way round.

[Prelovskaya] We spent 70 years laboring under an impression which a classic Soviet writer expressed as follows, through the lips of a terrible sovereign: Moscow is the third Rome, and there is not going to be a fourth. It is hard to shake off the idea of being a trailblazer. Are the social sciences today prepared to abandon demagoguery and to analyze more boldly than they did yesterday whether socialism is the only alternative to capitalism, and does your science envisage the possibility of the two present systems gradually moving toward one another in their development?

[Bogomolov] In the early thirties capitalism emerged from a profound crisis at the price of concessions and changes, borrowing ideas from socialism: the introduction of regulators of market forces, the creation of a system of social guarantees, the expansion of the sphere of collective ownership, and so forth.

Returning to the thought of the criteria of social progress, I believe that the look of the future should be linked not so much with the modernization of social relations in the process of production as with the humanization and democratization of life and the strengthening of people's social protection. This progress leads toward a future society that is called in the West the postindustrial or information society, and is called in our country the postcapitalist or socialist society. To conceive of socialism outside the context of the contemporary achievements of technical progress would be to remain captive to utopianism. No one finds equality within poverty attractive. But it will clearly take a mental revolution for people in our country to recognize convergence, the future rapprochement between the two systems, although I believe that it is inevitable, no matter how our ossified notions about capitalism, our leveling mentality, and our great power ambitions may hamper this. But we have already loosened the blinders that prevented us from viewing the world objectively, as can be seen, for instance, with regard to the changes in East Europe.

[Prelovskaya] But some people see those as confirmation of their own radical aspirations, and others see them as a warning: See how far things may go.

[Bogomolov] Political scientists and historians have yet to clarify their final assessment of these changes. But it can already be said that democratic, antitotalitarian revolutions have taken place. Not a reversal of history, but the peoples' emergence on the road of common human progress and civilization.

We have been studying this group of countries for a long time and we can see that the social need for the smashing of totalitarianism is objective and long overdue. But attempts to get rid of the barracks system were artificially interrupted under pressure from us. The only surprises now are the occasion, the moment, and the speed of the transformations. But it is impossible not to see a general trend in what is taking place in these countries. I don't think exceptions are possible, apart maybe from a different historical sequence and pace of changes. A chemical reaction produces the same results in a retort and a boiler, though it may differ in certain details. However, it is clear that totalitarianism has been doomed by history, and the reliable road to the future for us opens up only via a democratic society and a rule-of-law state.

[Prelovskaya] Was our neighbors' social thought freer?

[Bogomolov] Society in some of these countries was certainly more prepared for economic transformations: a different consumer market, less developed leveling tendencies, stronger democratic traditions. So far as social sciences are concerned, there is a pattern. Mind control in the GDR was raised to a pitch of perfection. In Czechoslovakia the most thoughtful scientists were either debarred from intellectual work or forced to go abroad. The institute of forecasting, which our institute tried to support, was the only center of fresh thinking, though it was subjected to constant attacks. The country's first deputy premier, the chairman of the State Planning Commission, and the finance minister emerged from it during the changes.

The social sciences were in relatively more favorable conditions only in Hungary, Poland, and Yugoslavia. And there is a direct connection with the more liberal setups in these countries.

[Prelovskaya] We have spoken of the relations between the social sciences and society. But science also has its own internal problems. What problem would you now put in first place?

[Bogomolov] There are not enough talented people. Young people's desire to study the social sciences has been taken away. People who proved their worth not in science but in social work have been promoted. They have overtaken those who were absorbed in research and tried to uncover the truth. We are now trying to train cadres for ourselves together with the university, but cooperation between academy institutes and VUZ's [higher educational institutions] is hampered by the lecturers' lack of interest in us. The differential between the training of those who are engaging in research and those who teach is too great. Our specialists had greater freedom and opportunity to derive knowledge and to make a deeper study of theory. I know this atmosphere very well: I myself lectured and ran a department! VUZ social sciences are still a vast domain of conservatism. Of course, life will have its way despite everything, but this will be a difficult process.

[Prelovskaya] What can we hope for?

[Bogomolov] Demand gives rise to supply. For many years, on the one hand, social scientists were forced to interpret decisions and generalizations formulated by someone or other—I need only mention the mountains of literature about so-called developed socialism—and, on the other hand, the useful work we did in the institutes could exist only in the form of typescripts or else be mimeographed in 30-50 copies. All this was distributed to a restricted circle of people, and we often did not know whether anyone had made use of our thoughts and proposals.

The situation is now changing. Scientists are actively participating in the formulation of social concepts. They have appeared in the upper echelons of power. But, unfortunately, we have still not shaken off monopolism in science. In my view, in the present situation, when a bold approach to life is required, there is a need for simultaneous study of decisions by different scientific collectives, so there is something to choose from. Scientists need access to information and interest on the part of the leadership in free competition among scientific collectives.

As for the forecasts that are expected of us, these may be useful if they are based on knowledge of the real trends [zakonomernosti]. And when it comes to the economy, it is impossible to envisage everything 5-10 years ahead: neither the market conditions, nor the emergence of new technologies, nor upheavals in the country's internal life. The potential of forecasting is by no means boundless. Although it expands as our knowledge increases.

What inspires hope is the fact that the social sciences are becoming necessary to society not as an illusion factory and a prop for ideology but precisely as a science objectively analyzing life and thereby helping its progressive development.

MVD Briefing on Organized Crime

WA1004190790 Moscow TRUD in Russian
6 Apr 90 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Together Against the Mafia"]

[Text] **A briefing was held in the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] on the joint operations of the internal affairs organs and the Committee of State Security [KGB] against organized crime.**

According to official statistics, in the last year alone 1,310 organized groups of criminals were uncovered. They were responsible for 93 murders, 377 robberies, 355 thefts, and 4,691 acts of larceny. Cases of extortion are becoming more and more frequent. Violence was used in almost a third of these cases. In 192 of them somebody's life or well-being was seriously threatened.

The criminal acts are executed by the so-called "goons." They act in a daring and cruel way as ordered by the leaders of the organized groups, and often use firearms. In the last year alone over 300 guns and 122 pieces of various technical equipment were confiscated from the criminals.

The KGB and the MVD recently conducted a number of joint operations aimed at apprehending the most dangerous criminals.

Here are just a few examples:

A criminal group was apprehended in the Mordovskaya Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which consisted of members of several trade and purchase cooperatives. The members of the group planned to deal with their competitors by means of firearms and explosives. They also tried to turn other cooperatives onto the road of crime. During the operation officers confiscated from them: two PPSh [Shpagin] submachine guns with cartridges, a small caliber rifle, a sawed-off Austrian-made rifle, a Walther pistol, a home-made pistol, a sawed-off hunting rifle, a large amount of explosive devices and ammunition, three sets of radio base stations, and gas masks. Several people have been arrested, and the investigation is continuing.

In the Krasnodarskiy Kray a group of embezzlers was caught red-handed. Among others the groups included a GOVD [city department of internal affairs] prevention department head. The investigation uncovered the theft of over 400 tons of meat, 200 tons of sunflower seeds and wheat kernels, and 700 liters of alcohol. Among those arrested was the rayon union of consumers' societies chairman; the head of a GOVD; the head of the inter-rayon maintenance section of the GOVD state automobile inspection, and a rayon soviet executive committee chairman. In all they arrested 19 people.

It was emphasized at the briefing that so far we are losing our fight against the organized crime. To date we are lagging behind by some 15-20 years. This is all the more pronounced due to the fact that in our country there are more opportunities for getting rich than anywhere else in the world.

For the first time, for instance, they found channels to transfer cashless funds into ready cash funds, for which they use a network of fake cooperatives and mutual enterprises. Unfortunately, the corruption has also penetrated into the banking system.

The problem of "economical smuggling" remains as crucial as ever. It means that large amounts of valuable and strategic-value raw materials are being exported to other countries. It is being done, in more or less equal share, by both cooperatives and state enterprises. Recently, however, state enterprises took the lead in the business. Most valuable materials are being sold for next to nothing.

Support for '28-30 Million' Invalids Urged

90US0773B Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 14, 7-13 Apr 90 p 5

[Report on interview with A. Deryugin, chairman of the All-Russian Society of Invalids, by G. Rodkina: "We Do Not Want Alms"; date and occasion not specified]

[Text] **According to UN data there are 500 million invalids in the world today; that is, every tenth inhabitant of the planet. There are more than 20 million invalids in the United States. According to our official statistics, the USSR has 7.5 million invalids. At the same time 200,000 persons in our country became invalids as a result of vehicular accidents. This is 10 times more than in America. Perhaps industrial injuries in our country are decreasing and the overall sickness rate is dropping? Alas! These indices are also rising. Then where did this "insidious" figure come from?**

These and other questions are answered by A. Deryugin, chairman of the All-Russian Society of Invalids.

[Deryugin] The fact is that social security considers only those invalids who are paid a pension for disability. Thus, child invalids up to the age of 16 are not included in these statistics (inasmuch as they do not receive a pension, but an allowance). Invalids of the officer corps of the Soviet Army, organs of the KGB, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs are not taken into account, because they are paid pensions for disability through their departments.

What is most unfortunate, the social security organs do not classify as invalids those who were switched from a disability pension to an old age pension.

According to our estimates, there are now 28-30 million invalids, including not less than 15 million in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republics].

[Rodkina] Aleksey Vasilyevich, tell us, please, what does your society exist on, and what is its budget?

[Deryugin] The All-Russian Society of Invalids now unites about 1 million persons. Enrollment dues are R1, and current annual dues are also R1. At first we were materially aided by the society of the blind and the society of the deaf. This year the state allocated R9 million. They are used for staff maintenance, official travel expenditures, organizational training, the acquisition of furniture, and providing assistance to extremely needy invalids.

[Rodkina] What is your staff like and how much do the employees receive?

[Deryugin] Seventy-nine persons work on the central staff, and all told in the RSFSR, there are 460 employees. The average wage is R118: Instructor personnel receive from R90 to 140, and chairmen from R160 to 210. Many members of the city and rayon organizations work without pay, as the saying goes, on social principles. Seventy-five percent of the organizations do not even have premises.

[Rodkina] And vehicles?

[Deryugin] The Fourth Moscow Motor Pool assigned us one vehicle, for which we pay more than R1,500, but for a good part of the time it is in for repairs....

We submitted a request to the Council of Ministers to get a "Volga," but we received a refusal in connection with the fact that the Council of Ministers itself did not receive even one additional vehicle.

[Rodkina] But how do you manage? Because the administration probably has a lot of invalids....

[Deryugin] Only invalids. We content ourselves with city transport. This problem could be partly resolved if those vehicles that are given free of charge to war invalids were placed at our disposal after a seven-year period of operation. After repairs, we could use them or sell them to invalids. However, the Ministry of Finance will not agree to this.

[Rodkina] As far as I know, from 1921 to 1960 about 400 enterprises were subordinate to the industrial cooperative of invalids which brought in a small income, as were 58 rest homes and sanatoriums. In 1960, the government figured that the problem of disability in our country was resolved, and all of these enterprises were transferred to the ministries of local and light industries, and the rest homes and sanatoriums to the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions]. Tell me, how do things stand now?

[Deryugin] The government of Russia recently adopted a decree concerning the transfer to our subordination of enterprises of the light, local, and everyday items industry, where the largest number of invalids are employed, on condition that the work collectives agree to this. To date a total of two associations in Ryazan and Gorkiy have been transferred to us. As soon as we are able to make a profit from our industry, the state subsidy will be abolished.

As for specialized sanatoriums and rest homes for invalids, there simply are none in the USSR. We asked the AUCCTU at least to allocate vouchers for invalids in a centralized way; however, we got a formal reply from the AUCCTU.

[Rodkina] Aleksey Vasilyevich, do you have a charitable fund?

[Deryugin] No. We do not want to hold out our hand for alms. Especially since we are capable of earning money ourselves. The only issue is that we be given an opportunity to work.

Economic

Bunich Holds News Conference on Economic Reform

LD1204210990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Apr 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Speaking at a press conference today for Soviet and foreign journalists Comrade Bunich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet commission on economic reform, noted that the transition of 70 percent of state enterprises to leasehold would help to eliminate most of the large administrative structures in the Soviet Union—namely, those of the state planning committee, the state committee for material and technical supply, and the industrial ministries. From 1 July this year it is proposed to leave all the money which make up the development funds at the disposal of enterprises. By employing it work collectives will be able to purchase plants and carry on production in the form of joint-stock ownership.

There are provisions for measures to index the income of the population. Above all there will be various supplementary payment to salaries and pensions. Money for this should be provided by taxation from entrepreneurial activities in the country.

Baklanov Addresses Chelyabinsk Communists

LD1104221390 Moscow TASS in English 2043 GMT 11 Apr 90

[Text] Chelyabinsk April 12 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko:

Nuclear enterprises' conversion is the most complicated problem from the economic, organisational and ecological point of view, Soviet Communist Party secretary Oleg Baklanov told a conference of Chelyabinsk region Communist Party activists today.

Many people believe that military enterprises' conversion will help quickly dress and feed the whole country, Baklanov said. But it is a delusion.

Of course, military industrial complex will help increase the production of consumer goods, medical and agricultural equipment, he said. All this takes time to restructure enterprises and train their personnel. There is no such experience in the world and we cannot use it.

Baklanov stressed that conversion should be conducted on a mutual basis but the United States makes no adequate steps in this direction.

Shortcomings of Defense Conversion Viewed

PM1204114490 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Apr 90 Second Edition p 2

[D. Shumskiy report under the rubric "Exhibitions": "Conversion Unadorned"]

[Text] An exhibition of equipment for sectors of the agro-industrial complex and small agricultural equipment can be seen in pavilion No. 1 at the USSR Exhibiton of National Economic Achievements. Its distinctive feature is that all the samples on display were manufactured at defense enterprises that are going over to a peaceful footing.

I noticed how carefully the visitors were examining the MT-100 dough kneader, exhibited by the Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry. Unlike similar models, it has been greatly simplified.

What are the capital's defense enterprises currently offering people? Some 320 types of equipment plus more than 80 that are at the development stage. It may look like quite a lot. But if you take into account the defense people's scientific and technical potential and the famine for high-quality goods in mass demand, it is a drop in the bucket.

Take, for instance, that great, inexhaustible problem—spare parts for our enterprises' equipment. They were mainly supplied with imported equipment. But with the reduction in currency opportunities deliveries of this equipment have now almost stopped. Because of the age of the equipment, the demand for spare parts, according to the most modest calculations, amounts to 15 million rubles a year. As a result the production of output that is vitally important to the population is constantly being reduced.

And the list of requirements for defense industry workers could easily be extended. For instance, the "Rotor" intersector complex, which made a mess of the development of sausage production lines, deserves keen criticism. This has meant that 20 rayon-level sausage production shops that have already been built or are under construction in Moscow are left without the necessary equipment.

The exhibition reminded me of a recent meeting with A.F. Selikhov, deputy chief of the Central Aerohydrodynamics Institute and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. I think he made the most important point: "At the moment the mighty scientific and production potential of defense sectors is in many cases dispersed in tackling tactical rather than strategic tasks. We are therefore naturally losing a great deal."

Scientific

'Mir' Space Complex Activities Updated

LD1304101290 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT 13 Apr 90

[By TASS correspondent reporting from the Mission Control Center]

[Text] This week's mission for Soviet cosmonauts Anatoliy Soloviev and Aleksandr Balandin included technical experiments and the replacement of exhausted elements in the life-support and power supply systems. The functioning of the systems which control the movement of the station and the modules within the single Mir complex contour was checked.

Today the cosmonauts are expected to carry out experiments on the temperature in the residential quarters and to measure the level of ionizing space radiation in near-earth space.

On Saturday and Sunday, Soloviev and Balandin will have time off. The state of their health is normal and both are feeling fine.

The Mir complex orbit parameters are now as follows:

- maximum distance from earth surface—404 kilomters,
- minimum distance from earth surface—372 kilometers,
- period of revolution— 92.1 minutes
- inclination—51.6 degrees.

Glavkosmos' Dunayev Discusses Space Program

LD1204103290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] On Cosmonautics Day, we usually sum up the work that has been done and the planned experiments, expeditions, and launches of national economic satellites. Today, we are not going to depart from this tradition, so here is our correspondent Andrey Zelentsov.

[Begin recording] [Zelentsov] I would like to draw your attention right away, comrades, to the fact that until recently it was absolutely impossible to tell you about future space flights and forthcoming launches. But now, the USSR Glavkosmos considers it quite permissible to speak about even the long-term program. To this end, a news conference was recently held at which the journalists were acquainted with the plans for this year and for the near future as well. To begin with, the manned space flight program; this is how it was put by Aleksandr Ivanovich Dunayev, head of USSR Glavkosmos.

[Dunayev] This year we plan to stage three expeditions. We plan about five freighters to back up these expeditions, and we plan to launch a module. The Kristall module is what we call a technological module. That is the whole of the manned program. In principle, a sum—speaking from memory—of the order of 220 million rubles, has been allocated to this program.

[Zelentsov] I will add to this that one of our expeditions includes a Japanese cosmonaut with the launch on 2 December this year. The USSR Glavkosmos will receive 12 million for this flight. Apart from implementing manned flights, this year the program of launches of national economic satellites to order of the main administration for geodesy and cartography under the USSR Council of Ministers will be continued. These satellites will carry out photography of the earth's surface in the optical and infrared regions of the spectrum, carrying out tasks for more than 22 ministries and departments of our country. Part of this information will be sold abroad by the organization called Soyuzkarta. Incidentally, the demand for space photography is quite large because we sell these pictures more cheaply than other countries, and their resolution is higher than in any other country. For example, in the optical part of the spectrum, the resolution of our apparatus is five meters. That means that one can clearly identify on the photograph an object measuring five meters. There was a lot of interest in the report that preparations are under way to create a system for direct television broadcasting in our country. Nine relay satellites are planned for it. Incidentally, places have already been booked for them in geostationary orbit at a height of approximately 40,000 km above the earth. These satellites will relay television programs to the whole of the USSR's territory, to the countries of Eastern Europe, and to certain countries of the Far East and Southeast Asia. This is what Aleksandr Ivanovich Dunayev says about the state of affairs with the creation of this system.

[Dunayev] The system, we calculate, should consist of three of these Gals-type satellites, which will be three channel ones, and about five or six four-channel satellites of the Gelikon system. We are starting with the launch of the Gals because we think the oxygen-hydrogen booster will not be ready in our country in 1991 in order on lift the whole of the approximately 3.7 to 4 tonnes to geostationary orbit. We are currently carrying out urgent improvements on our existing booster in order to lift an extra 200 kilograms, so as to lift the three-channel Gals satellite. It will provide us, apart from the two all-union programs, with an opportunity for republican programs, and speaking from memory, it will provide a large number of radio programs, including stereophonic ones. Certain of our union republics have even expressed a wish to start helping in implementing the finance for these programs. If such a possibility were examined, we would of course push ahead with this work, and indeed meet the date which we have taken upon ourselves for launching the first satellite in December 1990, because we do not see any serious technical problems in organizing it.

Military

Cost-Cutting Military Reform Drafted

PM1204100390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with USSR People's Deputy V. Lopatin, chairman of USSR Supreme Soviet special commission to elaborate draft outline of military reform in USSR Armed Forces, by N. Burbyga under rubric "At USSR Supreme Soviet Committees and Commissions: "Draft Military Reform"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Defense and State Security Committee Armed Forces Subcommittee has discussed a draft outline for military reform in the Armed Forces which has been elaborated by a commission specially set up for this purpose. It is proposed to finalize the draft within a week and to submit it for further discussion in committees and commissions. USSR People's Deputy V. Lopatin, the commission's chairman, elaborates.

[Burbyga] Vladimir Nikolayevich, can you tell us briefly what the military reform outline consists of?

[Lopatin] A military reform is overdue, and not just a cosmetic but a radical reform. This is obvious to many people today. Therefore it was no accident that a group of officer-delegates to the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies submitted a proposal for tackling the perestroyka of the army mechanism. Shortly afterward our commission was set up. For three months we have worked on the draft outline for reform. We have had the assistance of leading specialists from seven institutes, three military academies, and four Ministry of Defense institutes. We have consulted independent public expert assessment materials, and we have taken account of proposals and suggestions voiced during meetings in military collectives.

The key idea of the reform is a phased transition to professional Armed Forces, smaller in number, but better in quality, manned by volunteers, exterritorial in structure, and international in composition.

[Burbyga] The outline you have submitted includes the idea of the need to establish national-territorial formations. But could it not happen that the army will simply be divided up into "national billets." In my opinion, this is fraught with another danger. The latest events in the Transcaucasus testify that had the extremists had access to tanks and artillery, they would have used them without hesitation...

[Lopatin] In our case it is not a question of purely national formations but of a territorial manning principle. Under this manning principle, all people living in a specific territory would serve in these formations, irrespective of their nationality. Before 1977 the republics enjoyed this right. So why are they deprived of it now? Incidentally, alternative experience in this matter is also available in our country: In the early twenties this right was exercised by the institution of plenipotentiaries of the military department under union republic governments.

Our outline provides for:

the right of every republic to delegate the necessary powers to ensure its security on a treaty basis which takes into account the specific characteristics of the republics' development and the obligation of every republic to cover a minimum of expenditure, guaranteeing the security of the country as a whole; the creation of national-territorial formations of ground forces and a professional reserve on the territory of every republic, subordinated in administrative terms to the central and local leadership but in operational-strategic terms only to the center; provision of the opportunity to use these formations in emergencies [ekstremalnyye situatsii] on the decision of the local leadership to eliminate the consequences of natural catastrophies and to end disturbances in cases defined by law.

[Burbyga] As is known, in many countries of the West the same manning principle as in our country is applied. The Americans, too, have their problems. The existence of a mercenary army, according to some people, can only be described as a disgrace for a nation...

[Lopatin] Here it is necessary to distinguish between a mercenary army and a professional army. Mercenary army is generally accepted to mean an army in which foreigners serve in return for financial remuneration. This is not true of the U.S. Army. What we have in mind is a professional army manned by volunteers. What is bad about that? This method of manning is accepted in 58 countries.

[Burbyga] It is frequently said that such an army is beyond our means...

[Lopatin] My reply to this is: No one has as yet worked out precisely how much it would cost the country. As for the figures that have been cited, they tend to vary greatly. Whereas in spring 1989 ranking representatives of the Ministry of Defense claimed that a professional army would cost us eight times more than a conventional one, in December of the same year in an expert assessment drawn up by the General Staff this figure was reduced to just five times. And very "recent" calculations carried out by the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate center for the study of social and psychological problems indicate that expenditure would increase by only 1.8 times. The same report reaches the conclusion that in view of the fact that the Armed Forces will be reduced, and expenditure for purchases of military hardware will be cut back, this total may turn out to be much smaller. So today only the first rough estimates of the cost have been made.

[Burbyga] The reform is scheduled to take four to five years. How realistic is this? We have many "mundane" problems today connected with the deployment and accommodation of servicemen from units returning from the groups of forces. Who is to pay for all this?

[Lopatin] The figures concerning the schedule for the implementation of the reform are not plucked out of thin air. We utilized foreign countries' experience. The United States, specifically. As for the money, it could be found if we gave it sufficient thought. First, according to economists, every additional pair of hands increases the country's national income by up to 8,500 rubles per year. By substantially reducing the numerical strength of personnel we will obtain increased budget revenue. And another point. In the United States there are only three military colleges and one military academy, whereas in our country there are some 200 military training establishments... Is this not a reserve perhaps? By considerably reducing the production and purchases of arms and hardware we will also be able to make savings. I would also put the elimination of expensive privileges for high-ranking leaders into this category...

[Burbyga] As far as I know, the Ministry of Defense is compiling its own draft reform. Are these drafts not likely to clash fundamentally?

[Lopatin] Whatever the case, two drafts are better than one. The USSR Supreme Soviet will have to decide.

Baltic Republics

Gorbachev Threatens To Halt Trade to Lithuania

LD1304162390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] We have just received a report that USSR President Gorbachev and Ryzhkov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman, have sent a telegram to the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers. Here is the text of the telegram:

The problem of the republic's position within the union, which has been artificially and unlawfully created by the leadership of the Lithuanian SSR, is becoming tied in an ever tighter knot and taking on the nature of a political impasse. Despite the fact that the supreme bodies of state power of the USSR have taken constructive and considered measures capable of directing the problem of reinforcing the Lithuanian SSR's sovereignty into a constitutional channel, the republic's leaders are adopting more and more new legislative acts and decisions that set the Lithuanian SSR against the other republics and the Soviet Union as a whole.

Thus, on 5 April, a law was adopted on certification of citizens of the Lithuanian Republic which discriminates against Soviet citizens who wish to live and work in accordance with the constitutional procedures and laws of the USSR. The decision by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet on the cessation of activities in the republic in implementation of the spring call-up of citizens for active military service is a crude violation of the USSR law on universal military service. Despite the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers on measures to protect the property of the CPSU on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR, the republican authorities are making illegal attempts to seize that property.

Such actions, the list of which could be continued, are no longer tolerable. They are aimed at undermining the democratic processes underway in it, and they are seriously infringing the rights of Soviet citizens.

The other Soviet republics are rightly asking why they should continue, to the detriment of their own requirements, supplying Lithuania with products while Lithuania's leading bodies are continuing their unconstitutional actions and neglecting the legitimate interests of the unified national-economic complex and the country's citizens.

In the existing circumstances we are obliged to issue the following warning. Unless the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR annul their above-mentioned decisions within 2 days, orders will be given for the cessation of deliveries to the Lithuanian SSR from the other union republics of those types of products that are sold on the foreign market for freely convertible currency.

We would prefer things not to go as far as application of these measures. But this now depends entirely on the leadership of the Lithuanian SSR. At the same time we confirm once more that we expect the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR to adopt decisions that will restore the state of affairs that existed in the republic on 10 March 1990. This would make it possible to begin examining the whole range of issues without delay.

Troops Occupy Lithuanian Party Archives Building

LD1304105890 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Jurate Valanciute at the microphone with the facts on psychological warfare last night and this morning. There is no need to look far for them. Gedimino Prospektas, the Institute of Party History and the Archives: Last night uniformed representatives of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs units arrived there and chased away people who were guarding the building. They did this by force. The head of the office, a very excited Prof. Vanda Kasauskiene, spoke to us on the telephone.

[Begin recording] [Valanciute] Esteemed director, we know about the events last night at your institute. What is the situation now?

[Kasauskiene] I think those events last night are the beginning of a planned operation. Soldiers are here at the institute. There are more than 20 of them. They walk along the corridors; they live here; they have beds here. [passage omitted] Director Siurblys, appointed by the Burokevicius leadership, has compiled a list of the employees and they can be let in. Other employees, technical personnel, have been given temporary permits and they are let in with those temporary permits. Those who have no permits and those who have decided to guard the property of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party are not let in. [passage omitted]

Today, they did not want to let in the head of the archives, Comrade Caplikas. Siurblys told him he was dismissed, but Caplikas said: You did not appoint me and you are not going to dismiss me. He was let in. We are all now in our places. We wish to inform society; we write various letters to the newspapers; we want to announce that we are here. [passage omitted]

The doors of the depository are sealed, but in the present situation when soldiers play master both in the building of the institute and in the building of the archives, and when a new unit is being organized by a former employee at the institute, Siurblys, we think anything can happen. They can enter the depository and take away what they want. We have no guarantees. [end recording]

Armored Column Departs Vilnius, Returns

LD1204145290

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1300 GMT on 12 April carries a four-minute prerecorded telephone interview with Petrus Liupertas, deputy minister of internal affairs, by radio commentator Benas Rupeika. Liupertas says: "Today at 0540 GMT a column of vehicles left North Town military garrison in Vilnius and headed in the direction of Kaunas. According to a visual assessment of the column, it consisted of 21 armored vehicles, three VAZ trucks, and four ZIL trucks. This column arrived in Kaunas, and at about 1100 GMT the column returned to the North Town military garrison in Vilnius. More intensive movements of the Armed Forces in other areas of Lithuania have not been recorded." Liupertas says that that is the situation as of 1230 GMT. In response to a question by Rupeika, Liupertas says a student rally in Vilnius is ongoing as of 1234 GMT and "according to our calculations, the rally is about 10,000 people strong. In our opinion the public order is ideal there. The political atmosphere is heated, but in spite of this, we are unperturbed."

Lithuanian Situation 'Pregnant With Danger'

LD1304114790 Moscow TASS in English 1127 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 13 TASS—In the opinion of Vladimir Denisov, deputy chief of the Soviet General Staff, "the implementation of the policy of the present Lithuanian leaders for secession is pregnant with danger for the security of not only the Baltic republics and the USSR, but for all Europe."

The Baltic republics are now reliably protected by the troops of the Baltic Military District and the Baltic Fleet, the general writes in the TRUD newspaper today.

According to him, Lithuania's secession will create a breach in defences and disrupt a system of communications and control. Many Soviet routes to the Western frontiers will be blocked, and control over shipping in the central Baltic will be hampered. It will make more difficult, if need be, the defence of the Baltic coast and timely deployment of the fleet.

Denisov notes that air defence units now stationed in Lithuania play an important role in protecting the industrial base of the country's entire north-western region from a possible air attack.

The withdrawal of the republic's territory from the present air defence system threatens disrupting the united air defence system of not only the Soviet Union but the entire northern flank of the Warsaw Treaty. Denisov stresses that there is also the question of compensation for expenditures made. Lithuania's withdrawal from the USSR will entail substantial new defence spending.

In addition, Lithuanian territory houses, along with military facilities, a system of social, cultural and service establishments for military personnel: houses, kindergartens, polyclinics and shops.

The Army spent over 1.3 billion roubles for its construction. It will take four or five years and huge expenses to shift these facilities from the republic and build them anew.

Baltic Republics Conclude Economic Agreement

LD1204223890 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] The heads of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Governments signed an agreement on economic cooperation between the Baltics up to the year 2000. The agreement was signed in Vilnius today (?and it will be abided by) [words indistinct] independent states altogether, or some of them still remaining part of the Soviet Union.

The agreement means an effort to create a unified Baltic market. A Baltics Cooperation Council based in Riga is going to bet set up.

According to the Lithuanian Prime Minister Kasimieras Prunskiene the agreement envisages full economic integration in future. However, at present the main aim is political and moral support between the Baltics. We will tell you more about the cooperation agreement between Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia in our tomorrow's broadcast.

Agreement Detailed

LD1304143190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1200 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] As we have already reported, a trilateral agreement on economic cooperation between Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia has been signed in the capital. It says, in particular, [words indistinct]:

The Governments of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, guided by the principles of the sovereignty of their republics and proceeding on the basis of the goal of the development of mutually advantageous economic and humanitarian relations between them, deem it expedient to conclude this intergovernmental agreement and to create a Baltic market. The parties consider the following fields to be a subject for mutual integration: Legislation, financial policy and price-setting, scientific-technical cooperation, information technology, ecology, industry, agriculture, and other areas. The parties consider it necessary to institute a financial fund for the Baltic republics in 1990, are creating a Baltic investment bank and a marketing association for the Baltic market, and are establishing international centers to prepare and retrain specialists. Implementation of cooperation tasks is insured by a Baltic Cooperation Council and its commission. The commission is located in the city of Riga.

Lithuania's Prunskiene on Economic Affairs

LD1304110890 Prague CTK in English 0820 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 13 (CTK)—"The Soviet socialist system is being put an end to in our country. We have passed a temporary law on ownership which puts all forms on an equal footing". New Lithuanian Premier Kazimiera Prunskiene has said in an interview carried by today's trade union paper PRACE.

She added that now the government is elaborating a mechanism of privatization through shares and selling smaller enterprises to private hands. She said she had enough speaking about man's exploitation by man, adding that possibly this exploitation is experienced to the greatest extent in a state monopoly system in which the Lithuanians had lived for quite a long time.

She said Lithuania strove to exactly and completely fulfil its economic commitments. In the first quarter of 1990, it was to the volume of 99.7 per cent which none of the other Soviet Socialist Republics has managed to do. "So, the challenges of the Moscow press that we upset economic life are a nonsense", The Lithuanian premier stressed.

Referring to her country's ties with the West, she stated they had developed immensely. At the end of April she leaves for Canada and the United States to have talks on possibilities of establishing direct contacts in goods exchange and on forms of providing aid to Lithuania. She said she hoped that in the near future states with a similar historical experience in Central and Eastern Europe would meet for talks on seeking concrete programs of their ties.

The Lithuanian premier concluded she had been a great admirer of Mikhail Gorbachev. "But he stopped now, and this is not possible. He has let the genie out of the bottle and will not put it back again".

Conference of Pro-Union Lithuanian CP Held

LD1204190990 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Vilnius April 12 TASS—The Provisional Central Committee of the pro-union Lithuanian Communist Party [CP] held a conference of secretaries of city and district party committees today.

The conference discussed preparations for the 21st congress of the Pro-Union Lithuanian Communist Party, which is to open on April 21, this year. Participants in the conference came to the unanimous conclusion that the congress should be held in three stages.

On the first day of the congress it is planned to hear a political report on the situation in Lithuania and tasks stemming from it, and to elect the steering authorities of the party. After that the congress will resume its work in a month. On the second stage it will discuss a draft platform of the forthcoming 28th congress and the draft party rules, and to elect delegates to the 28th congress of the Soviet Communist Party. The congress of the Pro-Union Lithuanian Communist Party will come to a close after the end of the 28th congress of the Soviet Communist Party. On the third stage it will discuss a programme of actions.

Participants in the conference plan to hold a congress of representatives of citizens' committees of the republic on April 28.

Landsbergis Addresses Lithuanian Students Rally

LD1204224190 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] The Supreme Council of (?Lithuania) had a day of (?recess) today. However a multi-thousand rally was held at its building supporting the independence of Lithuania. The rally was held on the initiative of the students of Vilnius Pedagogical Institute.

Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian parliament, addressed the participants wishing them calmness and (?intra-solidarity). Mr. Landsbergis spoke about the recent past, the first steps toward rebirth, the role of the students, and the struggle for independence of Lithuania.

The participants adopted an appeal to the president of the Soviet Union asking him to resolve all the problems in a peaceful and democratic way.

Students Seek Return of Buildings

LD1204172990 Vilnius Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] A demonstration and meeting of students in support of the decisions of the first session of the Lithuanian Republic's Supreme Council took place outside the Lithuanian Supreme Council. The students demanded the return of the building housing the former Vilnius Higher Party School and other premises which the Lithuanian Council of Ministers put at the disposal of the Vilnius Pedagogical Institute. The participants in the meeting met and held talks with parliamentary deputies.

Officers' Quarters Torched Near Klaipeda

LD1304020690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2200 GMT 12 Apr 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Excerpt] In the outskirts of Klaipeda, there was an attempt to set on fire an officers' residential block in one of the garrisons.

[Unidentified correspondent] In the small town of (Tyalshay) these five-story buildings next to the unit have been built for the officers' families. It is here that last night someone poured gasoline and set alight the top floor apartments [passage omitted: interview with a unit major on relations in the town between unit soldiers and the locals; up to February this year there were no problems at all, but since February things have not been as smooth; rude graffiti against the "occupiers" who should "clear off home" have become a regular feature]

Zorin Comments on Lithuanian Independence Issue

LD0804101290 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 7 Apr 90

["Moscow Viewpoint" commentary prepared by Valentin Zorin]

[Text] As far as I can judge Americans these days can hear a lot of opinions and versions about developments in Lithuania, one of the 15 republics forming the USSR. Some of them are realistic and weighty, but there are others that smack of misinformation and stereotypes of the cold war times. Therefore I'd like to quote some facts today that could help understand what is really happening.

First of all I'd like to draw your attention to the fact that Moscow doesn't deny Lithuania the right to a state independence. In contrast to the American states, the republics forming the Soviet Union have the right to self-determination, including the right to secede. The differences between the local Lithuanian authorities and the Soviet parliament and president are not over the denial of such a right, it is over the way that a small group of Lithuanian politicians tries to put into effect the decision about the republic's withdrawal from the USSR. It does this in defiance of any laws or commonsense.

Let's ponder over such things. During the 50 years that Lithuania has been part of the Soviet Union, deep economic, demographic, territorial, and other contacts have developed. Proceeding from the economic needs, territories were added to the Lithuanian Republic that were never part of its territory. Throughout these years big factories, ports, communications were built in the republic and the money allocated from the national budget. Their total cost exceeds considerably Lithuania's economic potential. So involved in the matter is common property worth billions of rubles.

The one-sided and willful appropriation of this property would affect the interests of millions of people in this country. I wonder what Americans would say if their property were confiscated by decision of any state authority. I can cite another fact as well. The decision about the withdrawal from the USSR was passed by deputies of the local legislative assembly elected by only 21 percent of the Lithuanian population. In this context isn't Moscow's proposal for holding a referendum in Lithuania only fair? A referendum would give every citizen of that republic a chance to express his or her will in relation to the question which their fate largely depends on. But the Lithuanian leadership opposes this.

The Soviet Government's stand on the issue boils down to the following: The provisions of the Constitution and the country's laws must be observed. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed a law recently on the order of the republics withdrawal from the USSR. The law stipulates the holding of a referendum, envisages a transitional period, and some other legal norms that are expected to be observed.

When the Americans consider their domestic problems don't they demand the same? In any matter under consideration they expect the corresponding provisions of the Constitution and corresponding national laws to be abided by (?duly).

Lithuanian Effect on Western Relations Viewed

LD1204140890 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Can the Lithuanian problem have a negative effect on the dialogue between Moscow and the West? Earlier this week the presidential press secretary Arkadiy Maslennikov expressed assurance that the steps taken by the Presidential Council as regards Lithuania won't affect the relations between Moscow and Washington. Is this confidence justified? Mikhail Mayorov will try to give an answer.

Lithuania was one of the main subjects discussed in the past few days at meetings of Soviet and Western leaders. Did any of the sides bang the door? Are there any signs of a slowdown in talks? No, there were no signs of confrontation of either during meetings of the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Washington or during the Moscow meetings of the British Foreign Secretary Mr Hurd. On the whole the West is reserved, and tries to avoid interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. On Wednesday President Bush (?defined) that Washington does not intend to diplomatically recognize Lithuania, even de facto. This statement was made at the president's meeting with Americans of Baltic descent.

According to press secretary Maslennikov, the Kremlin appreciates the caution of Europe and America. Some analysts [words indistinct] to the diplomacy of smiles prompted by the desire not to harm President Gorbachev. It is quite possible that this is one of the reasons for the Western approach. But why not assume that all of us are beginning to accept new thinking and renounce outdated methods and means? Ten years ago the West would not have had second thoughts about the Lithuanian dilemma. Moscow would surely have been challenged, even if it were a question of open interference in Soviet affairs. A war is a war, even if it is a cold war. The revision of values has changed Moscow's approaches to international affairs too. Our official reaction to U.S. military actions in Panama, for example, could have been different. As the press secretary said, if we kept to—shall we say—our old thinking we should have stopped talking with the United States for at least 10 years.

The situation in Lithuania has raised the question: Shall we give in to the temptation of resorting to force and returning to the past. In an article for THE WASHINGTON POST, Jeanne Kirkpatrick, a person well-known beyond the United States, says that the main merit of President Gorbachev is that he kept his troops in the barracks during the radical changes in Eastern Europe. Could this phrase contain the answer to the question of temptation? The restraint on the subject of Lithuania is not the only indication of the conclusions drawn in the West. There is an even more eloquent (?fact); preparations are in full swing in Moscow, Washington, and London for the Soviet-American and Soviet-British summit meetings scheduled for May and June.

Lithuania's 'Chameleon-Type Communists' Hit

PM0404095990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Apr 90 Second Edition p 1

[Letter from Ch. Vysotskiy, second secretary of Shalchininkskiy Lithuanian Communist Party Rayon Committee, under general headline: "With Responsibility for Fate of Democracy"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Nowadays nobody is indifferent to the sociopolitical situation in the country. Soviet people were especially moved by the appeals by the president of the USSR to the Lithuanian people and to the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. It is understandable that representatives of the working class and the intelligentsia are alarmed by the Lithuanian leadership's irresponsible and unlawful actions which are at odds with the Constitution and are aimed at undermining good-neighborly relations. While supporting democracy, people demand the strictest observance of the laws and advocate economic, political, and cultural unity—the guarantee of our society's stability. This is the topic of letters and reports received by the editorial office.

For a Common Home

Let people in the country know that the absolute majority of our rayon's Communists support the CPSU platform. In their appeals to the CPSU Central Committee they demand a principled appraisal of the antisocialist actions by today's authorities in Lithuania and by the autonomous Lithuanian Communist Party, and energetic measures to protect the unity of the Soviet Union and the CPSU.

Each one of Soviet Lithuania's Communists was individually admitted to the CPSU. No party organ, not even the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, has the right to deny Communists the opportunity for free self-determination. Communists cannot be shifted from one party to another—like moving sheep from one flock to another. They themselves must decide in which party to remain. In exactly the same way, nobody has the right to decide on someone else's behalf in which country he should live. It is up to each and every one of us to decide by referendum Lithuania's future path. The Lithuanian Communist Party's Provisional Central Committee stands on the CPSU platform and will struggle for the unity of the USSR peoples, the equality of all peoples living on Lithuanian SSR territory, higher living standards for the republic's working people, for an autonomous Lithuanian SSR as part of a Soviet federation which is undergoing renewal, and for our common home, the USSR. We are for the historical truth, not for lies and fabrications.

This dramatic time is a test of Communists' staunchness, of their conviction and their faith in ideals. Especially dangerous are the chameleon-type communists who effect 180-degree turns in their views and trim their sails to catch the strongest wind—in other words, playing up to those whose power is stronger just in order to remain in office. Previously they agitated for Soviet power, now they laud the bourgeois system and go all out to denigrate Soviet power. Whoever denigrates socialism the most is the one who enjoys the greatest prestige. This is done not by the working class or the working peasantry, but by certain academics and doctors of sciences whom Soviet power educated and for whom it created good working conditions. The extremists want to turn our system into a capitalist system, they need total dictatorship, they are not interested in the people. Those who are fanning nationalism and extremism are playing with fire.

At rallies being held in Lithuania at the moment Soviet people are declaring that the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet decision on secession from the USSR is a betrayal of their own people. We want to determine our own future. Truth is on our side.

Lithuanian Military Commissariat Views Recruitment

LD1204183290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Video report by correspondent A. Barkhatov from Klaipeda; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We are all disturbed by the situation which has taken shape in Lithuania. Each day brings news testimony of the acute atmosphere, and contradictions which can be observed today in the republic's life. But it is essential to resolve them, to resolve them through persistent dialogue and the search for mutually acceptable solutions. In the meantime, the latest reportage by our correspondents from Lithuania—observations, thoughts, interviews, the opinions of foreign guests. [passage omitted]

[Barkhatov] Our meeting with the Klaipeda border detachment was perhaps a continuation of the theme touched upon by Mr. Linau. In the conversation with Lithuanian young men who are serving here, there were more questions than answers and perhaps precisely this, better than any commentaries, shows their present state.

[Unidentified serviceman] I think that the Lithuanian newspapers are writing one thing and the central newspapers another. Radio and television as well. It depends on what channel you are watching. There is no objectivity.

[Barkhatov] Do you know of incidents of desertion, of leaving the Army without permission, by your people?

[Second unidentified serviceman] Yes, we do know of these. This, of course, I think, these acts of theirs, are not serious. They did this without thinking. People should not run now.

[Barkhatov] But if the call was made? Very well. To leave the Soviet Army and to become members of the Free Riflemen, a formation with a name which is still bourgeois, to become part of the Lithuanan Army, self-made and independent. How, and which of you would become members?

[Third unidentified serviceman] No, I would not take such an action at the moment.

[Barkhatov] Why?

[Third serviceman] It is not serious. It is not yet clear how all of this will end. To act in this way is simply thoughtless. [video shows a group of servicemen being interviewed by the correspondent, then switches to showing Barkhatov alone holding a copy of the newspaper EKHO LITVY]

[Barkhatov] The newspaper of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian Republic, which is called EKHO LITVY, at times brings the most unexpected news. The republic's Council of Ministers has issued an instruction. The obligation of enterprises, establishments, organizations, and executive committees of the republic has been changed: to cease the introduction of military registration, to release senior workers to other work, not to present the military commissariats with lists of young men obliged to register at recruitment units as well as other data. [Video shows Barkhatov interviewing commissariat official]

[Barkhatov] To what extent will this hinder you in your work? Do you have card indexes? That is, they will be practically put out of action...

[K.G. Golubev, chief of the republic Military Commissariat Political Department, identified by screen caption] I do not think so. We have been prepared for this for a long time. All of the preparatory work was done during the winter. The card indexes have been compiled. Individual conversations have already been held with each of the young men. Only the medical examinations still remain to be carried out.

[Barkhatov] This, I think, will not hinder recruitment.

[Golubev] Absolutely not. But I am surprised at their incompetence. They do not know at all what the Military Commissariat does. We have more than 10,000 pensioners registered in the Ministery of Defense, more than 30,000 war and labor veterans, more than 4,000 Afghan veterans, and all social problems have always and everywhere been resolved and are being resolved through the military commissariats. What they intend to do now I do not know.

[Barkhatov] So they are hindering you in this work?

[Golubev] Absolutely. Primarily they are hitting at the population of the republic which resolves these problems, precisely through us.

Unsuccessful Pursuit of Deserters Described

PM0304202790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Apr 90 First Edition p 4

[Article by Major A. Lyutsko: "Who Is Harboring the Deserters?"]

[Text] Baltic Military District—"I ask you to strike me off the unit rolls. Lithuania is an independent republic. I will serve my homeland—a free Lithuania" A unit commander received this cable from Private V. Pyatreykis. Several days ago this soldier fled from the hospital where he was undergoing treatment. He was accompanied by another three Lithuanian servicemen.

Eyewitnesses say that a vehicle drove up to the hospital checkpoint late in the evening. Soldiers got out to see their relatives. They did not return. They just drove off in regulation hospital overalls. It turned out later that this illegal action was provoked by members of Sajudis. It was they who urged their countrymen to desert.

The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet resolution adopted 12 March 1990 regarding the invalidity on the republic's territory of the USSR Law on Military Service and statements by Sajudis leaders urging Lithuanians to abandon service and return home have, so to speak, done the trick. Some servicemen succumbed to this ruse. A few days later another nine soldiers went AWOL from the unit.

It is particularly disturbing that Private D. Spranaytis, former secretary of the company Komsomol [Lenin Communist Youth League] organization, carefully prepared the escape.

The first thing that the unit did was to send cables to the fugitives' parents. There was no answer. Then company commander Captain M. Gutara decided that he himself would join the search.

The journey was difficult and, regrettably, unsuccessful. The soldiers' parents with whom the officer spoke claimed unanimously that they knew nothing of their sons' whereabouts. Some people would not even let the captain over the threshold. But the father of Private D. Tribuyshis (a militia major, incidentally) said that, if his son put in an appearance at home, there could be no question of his returning to his unit.

It is hard to grasp how these people, with the wisdom of life's experience, have found themselves under the thumb of extremists.

The unit command recently received two cables from the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet provisional commission which is dealing with the return of citizens serving in the USSR Armed Forces, announcing that former servicemen D. Spranaytis and V. Chaponis had been registered by this commission and were at hand.

One only wonders how this ties up with the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet's recent appeal to all Lithuanian citizens on military service—to stay where they are and not cause conflicts by their behavior.

Lithuanian Democratic Party Makes Announcement

90UN1357C Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian
22 Mar 90 p 2

[Announcement of Council of Democratic Party of Lithuania]

[Text] The aspirations of the people in Lithuania are coming true: We have proclaimed the Act of the Restoration of the Independent Lithuanian State, which radically changed the political situation in Lithuania.

Taking this into account, the Democratic Party of Lithuania announces:

1. We support the decisive steps of the newly elected Supreme Soviet of Lithuania and its chairman.

2. We do not approve of the actions for gathering signatures to create a split in the society or other actions directed against the legal decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic.

3. We think that the question of the institution of the president of Lithuania can be resolved only after the establishment of the state of Lithuania and the adoption of the Constitution of the Lithuanian Republic.

4. We call residents of all nationalities in Lithuania to unification, peace, and resolve in the name of the establishment of the independence of Lithuania.

5. The Democratic Party of Lithuania is prepared to participate actively in the creation of a democratic Lithuanian Republic.

Adopted by the Council of the Democratic Party of Lithuania

17 March 1990

Pro-CPSU Lithuanian Communist Party Plenum Held

90UN1298C Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 8

[Article by L. Kapelyushnyy under the rubric "Direct Connection by Teletype—IZVESTIYA's Own Correspondents": "Report From Vilnius: The Position of the Lithuanian Communist Party Provisional Central Committee"]

[Text] **A plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party (loyal to the CPSU) Provisional Central Committee took place.**

Today Lithuania's communists are split into "ours" and "theirs." "Theirs" are those who have not left the CPSU. Although more than three months have already passed since the split, the very same problems were discussed with familiar variations—they do not have their own press, there are no lodgings or transportation, etc. There is only a month before the party congress, and no party organizations have been created in more than 20 rayons. Each day of delay leads to the loss of party members. There are 100,000 members of a once-united party of communists who have not yet made a choice, and it is assumed that they are most likely to leave the party.

The Provisional Central Committee discussed the political situation in the republic and concluded that it is tense. The political decisions made recently by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet amount to a coup d'etat.

The Provisional Central Committee believes that the parliament made the decision to withdraw the republic from the USSR without proper authority, and the Central Committee decided to inform the republic's Supreme Soviet of its position. The plenum approved the decree of the third special USSR Congress of People's Deputies on the situation in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, and passed a statement to this effect.

Independent Lithuanian Communist Plenum Held

90UN1378A Mosow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA
in Russian30 Mar 90 p 3

[Report by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA special correspondent R. Motskus: "Toward Events in Lithuania. Between Past and Present"]

[Text]**Vilnius—On 26 March there was a plenum of the Central Committee of the independent Communist Party of Lithuania. They discussed the situation that had developed in Lithuania.**

Having ended up in the minority, deputies from the Communist Party of Lithuania in the Supreme Soviet are not active or purposeful enough. But it was noted in the report that the situation is gradually changing. The independent Communist Party of Lithuania, in the words of the speaker, First Secretary A. Brazauskas, "should become a buffer between the past and present and look for points in common with other political forces. The independent Lithuanian Communist Party now has more than 86,000 members but it cannot be ruled out that this number might even decrease. Many people are putting off their final selection until the 28th CPSU Congress.

The speaker noted that it is not necessary to look for an analogy with the events in Eastern Europe; our conditions are distinct although the general European process is exerting a significant influence. Under these conditions the Lithuanian Communist Party could be a factor in the balance so that further development of Lithuania proceeds along the democratic path and it is protected from dangerous, ill-considered steps. The opinion has been expressed that in the future, at the next congress, the party might be renamed. One of the variants is the Social Democratic Union. **The first figures on the results of elections to the local soviets have been made public. In the Vilnius city soviet, for example, of the 51 deputies elected 48 were supported by Sajudis and only three were from the Council of Veterans and Labor and also the Lithuanian Communist Party (on the platform of the CPSU). The results were similar in other cities and rayons. On the whole the voter turnout was low—about 60 percent.**

In these troubling days the head of the Russian Orthodox Church in Lithuania, Archbishop of Vilnius and Lithuania Khrizastom, has appealed to the population.

"I share the desire for independence of any people, any union republic, whether it be Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, or Georgia.

As a Russian, I am interested in Russian well-being but as the head of the Lithuanian Orthodox Church I am interested in a correct attitude toward the question of independence. How does one exercise this independence—I do not know and therefore I will not take a position of approval or condemnation right away. Both the one and the other would be contrived. I am against any loudmouths, both those who are "for" and those who are "against."

I should like for the mass media to be more objective—Archbishop Khrizastom concluded, talking about the elucidation of Lithuanian events.

Sajudis Council Announces Second Congress

90UN1357E Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 22 Mar 90 p 3

[Report from Sajudis Information Agency]

[Text] Vilnius—On 20 March in the Sajudis staff headquarters there was a meeting of the council of the sejm at which they discussed questions of the Sajudis congress and the subject "Waves of Restoration" of the day. A decision was made to convene the Second Sajudis Congress on 22 April of this year. The congress is necessary since it will be necessary to update the Sajudis structure and also to prepare for the forthcoming Baltic Assembly. Before the congress there will be another meeting of the Sajudis sejm. At the present time a question has been raised about the number of people exiled during all the years of Soviet power. These data will be needed for negotiations with Moscow. Therefore in "Waves of Restoration" it is intended to read an address to the people of Lithuania with an appeal for all exiled people to respond. During "Wave of Restoration" it is also intended that representatives of the Union of Women will speak about the situation of Lithuanian soldiers in the Soviet Army.

Landsbergis Supreme Soviet 17 Mar Report

90UN1382A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 21 March 90 p 2

[Report by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Soviet, at 17 March plenary meeting: "The Political Situation"; published under the rubric: "First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic of the First Convocation"]

[Text] Dear Colleague Deputies! During this time when we have had no plenary meetings, various events, various things have been taking place. One difficult moment—the "discussion" of Lithuania as some violator at the Third Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow—has passed. People raged there, and this was no help to them in understanding the situation. Some nonetheless reasoned, reflected, understood and took our part. And we have been working, working, in groups, in commissions, at out of town meetings and meetings with the electorate, and working in the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium which, in turn, has adopted some decisions on current issues.

What is the situation today in Lithuania, what are our problems? The main problem, of course, remains and obviously will continue to be for some time the preservation of political stability. The situation in the republic is calm and stable, all establishments are operating, all people are doing their work, and great approval for the significant decisions we have adopted is perceived both in Lithuania and abroad. This is contributing to preserving the stability of the situation, although it is our duty to watch closely to see that there are no breaches of stability. It is being reinforced in Lithuania by signs of international recognition, about some of which I would like to tell you. A communique from the Republic of Poland Sejm was conveyed yesterday by telephone. I will read it out:

The Senate has passed a resolution, responding to the Lithuanian Parliament's appeal to the peoples of the world, which proclaims the continuity and independence of the Lithuanian state and its return to the family of free countries, and joyously welcomes the great change in the life of the fraternal country. Freedom and independence are the principal values, in whose name generation after generation of our peoples have fought. We believe that free Lithuania will be able to develop successfully and live in peace and friendship with all its neighbors. Passed unanimously.

Another letter of recognition—it is true—and merely about the elections of the Lithuanian parliament, addressed to the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka, is very significant since it contains the words of the working class of a big and important state and the biggest and most influential organization: "To Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka! On behalf of the 14 million members of the AFL-CIO, accept my cordial congratulations to Sajudis on their victory at the elections to the Lithuanian Parliament. Your movement is under difficult circumstances paving the way toward democracy and national self-determination. I recall with satisfaction our meeting and conversation last summer in Washington and I hope that together with Sajudis and the Lithuanian Workers Union, which is led by Brother Uoka, you will be able to cooperate to bring peace and democracy closer. 'We express solidarity with you' (these words are written in Lithuanian). In solidarity, Lane Kirkland, president."

Since this is a real force—the working class could, if necessary, support not only workers in Lithuania but also Lithuania itself as a state in revival—I wanted to read these congratulations out to you.

I have been speaking about the situation in Lithuania and about its political stability, which must be treasured and preserved. What might the danger be, what could weaken it? Mainly, of course, the absence of civic consciousness where it exists and where it could exist.... This is being accompanied by certain rumors and a certain amount of incitement—of which there is no shortage even in Central Television broadcasts—and by actions being taken in certain organizations and at enterprises. I would like also to read out one such communication as an example of the harmful activity in which some people are engaging. I have a signed statement here, which I will pass on to esteemed Minister M. Misyukonis, and which I will now read out.

The information is as follows: "A meeting of workers was held on 16 March this year at 0730 hours at Vilnius Motor Transport Enterprise No. 1 against the resolutions and instruments enacted by the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Soviet. Approximately 1,200 persons work at the enterprise. Eighty to 120 persons took part in the meeting itself. However, the organizers of the meeting wanted to send their letter to USSR President M. Gorbachev as the wishes of all workers of the enterprise. When this was unsuccessful, they began to collect signatures in the form of crude pressure. The text was handed to the duty mechanic releasing automobiles from a pool. If a driver appended his signature to the text, his logbook was signed." I believe that this information is not a fraud, but I would ask that the esteemed minister check it out, the person who handed in this information works at the said enterprise. We know that such things are going on elsewhere also, although we do not have written information.

We sometimes hear on Central Television odd statements insulting not only Lithuania and Lithuanians but also for some reason other nationalities or people speaking different languages. Thus in a television appearance Shved, the now well-known CPSU figure in Lithuania, described them as "demoralized" people. I believe that we should protest such insults against our fellow citizens. Nor, evidently, did the relay of the Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies—where so much that was untrue was spoken about Lithuania (and no one responded or was allowed to respond), and the nighttime relay—contribute to stabilization and consolidation. If mention is made in any form of this territorial claim or the other against the Republic of Lithuania, outside pressures could also contribute to a disruption of stability. These are very strange things, and it would be simply incredible if the Soviet Union, which signed the Helsinki Conference Final Act and confirmed the principle of the invariability of borders, were to be the first of the states that signed it to violate it. However, the claims are being heard, although expressed through the mouths of deputies of Belorussia or in some other way, which may be interpreted both as a violation of the tranquillity and incitement of the people. I believe that when we have formed if only the nucleus of the government, we will find ways, possibly, of officially responding to such instances.

One further leitmotiv constantly being heard in the speeches directed against the decrees and enactments of the Republic of Lithuania is the analysis of the election results and the so-called question of the legality of the election results, and what is more, the word "referendum" is being used in various forms. As if what is needed is verification of what has been so clearly expressed in verbal pronouncements and the voting of the electorate—which is primarily support for the "Sajudis" election platform with its unambiguous program of exercise of the right and aspiration to independence, and also for the platform of the Lithuanian Communist Party, which declared its aspiration to independence—and, finally, in the ballot, memorable for all of us, a historic ballot, during which there was not a single vote against. Of course, when it is said elsewhere that these wishes could be confirmed once again by referendum, we could reply that we have no doubts as to the results of a referendum, but that we have other matters to attend to; besides, if we allowed ourselves to be dragged into a debate, we would be making a political mistake, acknowledging, as it were, that people's wishes have not yet really been expressed. I would like to mention here a particular responsibility of our press in this respect—it is not mandatory for us ourselves to adduce some arguments for the opponents of independence or to give the impression that this issue is still being discussed among us.

There are also certain complex international contacts, in which signs of pressure may also be seen. On the one hand incipient recognition or the start of negotiations even may be discerned. We have here the telegram from Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Soviet Union, addressed to me, but containing an appeal to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet. The telegram has already been published, and I received it yesterday in various versions. First, as you know, a resolution was read out at the Congress of Deputies in Moscow and approved there by a vote. The wording was subsequently modified somewhat, but this is more interesting than essential. We could, of course, make an observation in connection with the address. "Lithuanian SSR" [Soviet Socialist Republic] is still being written, obviously from habit. The wording of the telegram you know. And I will say that having finally received the text of the resolution of the Congress of Deputies, delivered by messenger, I last night jotted down a rough draft of a reply, but I believe that we have before us not only all of today but until Monday, when the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union begins or continues and when the USSR president wishes to have our reply. This wish will undoubtedly be met. If you have no objections, I would like to postpone the exchange of opinions on this issue until later. This is not a bad telegram. It is a continuation of President M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the Third Congress of Deputies at which, as you will recall, at the end of his speech there was mention, before the reading of the draft resolution, of dialogue and of the fact that Lithuania should be seen in an international context (we think so too), talk of respect for the Lithuanian people and so forth.

A specific problem we are encountering at this time is that the Supreme Soviet has issued the decree on military service obligation and the activity of the military commissariats in the republic—concerns of military leaders. High-ranking officers from Vilnius and Riga are arriving, and telephone calls or dispatches from elsewhere are being received. I am getting them even now. It is known what is worrying the military command—the fact that young soldiers are leaving the places where they have until now been performing their military service. They have clearly expressed a request that we somehow appeal to the young soldiers in case their spontaneous departure cause some danger to themselves and that we force these soldiers to be prosecuted. After all, the command has its obligations and it has to carry out its orders. I am notifying you of this since the draft of such an appeal has been prepared. And one further question, on account of which I would also like to appeal not only to those here present but to all inhabitants of Lithuania listening to my speech—this is the treatment of Soviet Army soldiers in the republic. There should be no carping and no insults, which there should not be between people generally, and particularly not now. Following the restoration of Lithuania's independence, these soldiers—absolutely not by their wishes and not by choice—have found themselves in a legal and political situation different from what they have imagined until now. Rebuking them for the fact that they are here, in Lithuania, would be unwise, unfriendly and politically irresponsible. I propose that they all be treated in a comradely fashion. We know that negotiations will be held. They will also decide the question of the status of the Soviet Armed Forces in Lithuania. Nonetheless, since you know of efforts being made to spoil the mood among, say, officers of the reserve living in Lithuania and working in certain establishments, I propose that the deputies reflect on whether, just as many of us yesterday met with the electorate, we should not also meet with personnel of the garrison, with the soldiers, and talk with and explain to them the common wishes of all our elected deputies, what this means and how we will tackle questions connected with the Soviet Army. Each of you might yourselves, possibly, reflect on whether we could adopt such a resolution. I do not believe that there would be instances like at the time of my election campaign in Panevezhis a year ago, when my desire to meet with the soldiers, who were at that time still voters, was not met. I believe that such things will not happen and that, if we wish, we will be able to talk. And this should be done.

There are appeals for people to sign complaints about the fact that things are going badly for them in Lithuania and that they do not support the decrees of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Soviet. I have read out to you one example of how this is being done. Some people are proposing (we are receiving such signals) that we announce that all who support the decrees should send letters to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. There would, I believe, be considerably more of these, but I do not know whether we need waste time on such an action.

The scheduled meeting of opponents of Lithuania's independence could be discussed in the context of all the events and particular sources of tension. It has been authorized—it may be held—people may express their opinion. But if some people incite them to disturbances, I believe that we should call on people who are loyal and approving of Lithuania's choice not to participate in such activities and not to interfere in any other possible events. I believe that the state authorities of Lithuania—I hope that there will already be a new leadership of the Council of Ministers—and Minister of Internal Affairs M. Misyukonis will try to ensure that the president of the Soviet Union may be fully assured in connection with the fact that order in Lithuania will be guaranteed and will be preserved.

Deputy Algirdas Brazauskas reported on a discussion with M.S. Gorbachev at the plenary meeting.

"During the Congress of USSR People's Deputies," he said, "there was a brief conversation with M.S. Gorbachev. It cannot be said that he was all that surprised at the enactment on Lithuania's independence. Compared with what had been said before, what was new to some extent were his words to the effect that the republics' future political path within the Soviet Union may be differentiated.

"M.S. Gorbachev stressed once again that the peoples' self-determination should be made official by a referendum. And he gave the reminder that here in Lithuania we have a well-prepared Referendum Act. The question of Lithuania's borders was not raised on this occasion, incidentally.

"Speaking of economic relations, M.S. Gorbachev observed that the Central Asian republics intended to restrict supplies of products to Lithuania and the other Baltic republics and that it was a question of individual contracts for such supplies. But he, Gorbachev, did not approve of this. At the same time it was stressed that the way to independence was a process—steps, a chain of actions. And only in the course of such a process could an agreement be arrived at. And if such a way were unacceptable to Lithuania, this would greatly complicate the situation for Lithuania and other republics. M.S. Gorbachev also recalled the Finnish possibility.

Deputies Vaydotas Antanaytis and Nikolay Medvedev also reported on the meetings in Moscow. The greetings of deputies of the Inter-Regional Group to the Lithuanian Parliament in connection with the proclamation of independence were conveyed.

Landsbergis 19 Mar Press Conference

90UN1380A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 21 Mar 90 p 1

[Article by Yu. Mazheykis: "Press Conference at the Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] After yet another day of work at the First Session of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet of the first term, a press conference was held on Monday evening for journalists of the republic newspapers and magazines, television, radio, and their foreign colleagues.

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Deputy Cheslovas Yurshenas, who chaired the press conference, introduced to the journalists Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Soviet, his deputies Kazimeras Moteka and Cheslovas Stankyavichyus, and Supreme Soviet Secretary Lyudvikas Sabutis.

Vytautas Landsbergis opened the press conference with brief introductory remarks. He thanked the accredited journalists for their patient and painstaking work, and for their daily efforts allowing the world to receive objective information on the first steps of independent Lithuania. He also briefly discussed the work carried out during the day after the break.

Of course, the journalists were primarily concerned about the Republic of Lithuania's response to a telegram from USSR President Gorbachev and to a resolution of the Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies on the resolutions of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet dated 10-12 March 1990, about relations between the leadership of Lithuania and the command of the Baltic Military District, and so on. In response to these questions, put in various ways by representatives of ASAHI, LIBERATION, LOS ANGELES TIMES, and others, V. Landsbergis said that a response has already been sent to Moscow. The response states that the decision made by the parliament of the Republic of Lithuania is firm, and that we are fully entitled to make it. The response also contains firm assurances that Lithuania has no intention whatsoever of violating human rights, and that compliance with these rights of all citizens is guaranteed by the laws of Lithuania. Regretting that Moscow's reaction Moscow was not available to him at that time, V. Landsbergis expressed his hope that the document sent become the basis of the forthcoming talks.

As far as relations with the command of the Baltic Military District are concerned, they are being established. A of couple days ago, a group of the leaders of the military district met with the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania, which was helpful in resolving some issues.

Foreign journalists asked about the border checkpoints in Lithuania. V. Landsbergis responded to this question directly and clearly: The Estonians did this somewhat before we did. We have already encountered cases of valuables and hard currency being taken out of Lithuania. Inspections on the roads leading into and out of our republic should be legalized as a means of preventing this. Since there is a shortage of people for this task, the Ministry of Internal Affairs will use young men, mainly those who, having left the ranks of the Soviet Army, do not mind serving in detachments for the protection of public order. Along with this, announcements have appeared on the registration of volunteers. We consider this to be an action resembling the registration of reservists, so that we would know where to look for the people who are capable of maintaining order and rendering assistance quickly if they were needed in the event of major disturbances or danger.

Responding to a question about when the 1938 Constitution with amendments will take effect, the chairman of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Soviet noted that continuation of the application of the constitution and its temporary suspension are symbolic. This merely confirms the continuity of the Republic of Lithuania. We are not a new state, we are the same state which the world recognized, and which was occupied and annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940. The 1938 Constitution, or certain elements of it, will undoubtedly be used in developing the new Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania.

The guests of the journalists took a great deal of questions that evening. The journalists were concerned about talk of unavoidable unemployment in Lithuania (in the opinion of K. Moteka, it is premature to refer to this problem in our country); problems concerning consolidation of the majority and minority in the parliament; problems of the unity of various editorial offices (L. Kyauleykis from KRANKLIS); and finally a visit to Klaipeda by a correspondent of MEMELER DAMFBOT...

The representatives of the republic's parliament tried to answer all the questions precisely and clearly.

Vilnius Gorkom Meets, A. Brazauskas Speaks

90UN1281C Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 12 Mar 90 p 2

[Article by Yu. Mazheykis: "The Road Is Not Paved with Roses: Notes from the 26th Conference of the Vilnius Gorkom of the Lithuanian Communist Party"]

[Text] The 26th Conference of the Vilnius Gorkom [city party committee] of the Lithuanian Communist Party took place on 10 March in Vilnius. Just as during the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, the spacious Opera Palace was full to capacity. Of the 845 elected deputies, 734 attended the conference. This is a fairly high percentage of participation keeping in mind today's abundance of political and social events. Many of the republic's most respected people demonstrated their interest in this forum of the capital's communists. Among the participants were A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; V. Berezov and Yu. Paletskis, secretaries of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; members of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau; and a number of the leaders of the ministries and various departments. All this pointed to a businesslike, constructive discussion of the fate of the capital's and the republic's communists. But, as the Lithuanian proverb goes, we will not praise the day before the evening.... And so, I will relate everything as it occurred. The reader will perhaps pardon me for these notes that are, so to say, hard on the heels of the event. I believe that in-depth analysis must sometimes be sacrificed in the name of expediency.

At the beginning, the delegates of the 26th Conference of the Vilnius Gorkom of the Lithuanian Communist Party approved the conference agenda almost unanimously. K. Zalyatskas, first secretary of the Vilnius Gorkom of the Lithuanian Communist Party, gave a report on the first question—the activities of the Vilnius city party organization in today's political circumstances. His report seemed to me extremely condensed and concrete. Perhaps he should have spent more time on specific ways to overcome the prolonged, difficult period of reorganization and the means and methods of winning back the authority that has been lost. But, on the other hand, these should become daily issues for all members of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the capital, and not just for one secretary. Perhaps K. Zalyatskas, who devoted a whole paragraph to it in his report, wanted to call the communists to activity.

The delegates to the 26th Party Conference accepted in a positive fashion the primary conclusion of the report to the effect that at the 20th Congress the Lithuanian Communist Party made a revolutionary and historic change and announced to Lithuania and the whole world its independence and its statute and program.

"The more time that goes by since this historic date," said K. Zalyatskas in his report, "the more apparent it is that the daring step we took was necessary. The program of the Lithuanian Communist Party that we adopted reflects the views of the majority of the republic's communists, and the residents of Lithuania approve this program because it reflects the aspirations and hopes of the majority of the republic's communists."

But if we are to proceed from the assumptions of a civilized, democratic society, then nothing special happened at the congress of the Lithuanian communists. So the party consciously turned to face its people.

As K. Zalyatskas acknowledged, the euphoria which reigned during the congress and afterwards kept us from evaluating our position seriously, preparing a program of specific actions, and responding to the burning issues of all citizens of Lithuania. Independence—when and at what price? How to halt the decline in the standard of living? When will the party name and condemn those members who have wronged their people? The party went into the elections without having responded to these and similar questions, and now the Lithuanian Communist Party is a minority in the republic's parliament for the first time in the entire postwar period.... Yes, there is cause for alarm. And it is very serious. And then there is the constantly decreasing number of communists who acknowledge the program and the statute of Lithuania. In his report K. Zalyatskas noted without any special pride that in Vilnius on 1 March there were 779 local Lithuanian Communist Party organizations composed of 14,956 communists. By way of comparison we should recall that before the reorganization the Vilnius city organization had more than 42,000 members of the party and there were 929 local organizations. Yes, these naked figures say much.... And it is not much comfort that, as was noted in the summary report, in the ranks of the Lithuanian Communist Party have appeared many personalities and cultural and artistic figures whose names are widely known in Lithuania and who, it is hoped, will still add the weight of their word and by their personal example will show the rightness and the necessity of the decisions that were made then and will carry the people with them.

Representatives of the working class are joining in the work of the Vilnius city Lithuanian Communist Party organization more and more actively. Today they make up a quarter of the entire organization. It is probably still too early to judge today whether that is many or few. But I also share the opinion that people should be accepted into the party not according to affiliation with this or that stratum (as it used to be—three workers to one intellectual) but rather according to the principle of ideological conviction.

K. Zalyatskas convincingly demonstrated how poorly this process of self-determination is occurring among the working class. More than a few of them have renounced party membership only because they did not fully understand the goals of the party's program. Our most important task is to help those who have not yet given up their party membership cards. It would be possible to dispel their doubts if we were to propose that this group work with us in the role of observers and our first assistants. They are also a reserve, and we need to make use of them. The size of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party is growing at a slow pace. By way of comparison I would like to cite the following fact: Since the 20th Congress only 190 new members of the Lithuanian Communist Party have replenished the ranks of the Lithuanian communists in the party organizations of the capital.

The process of reorganizing the party requires united members and active work. This is very timely now that, after the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, there has been an increase in the desire of some political forces and individual people to exploit anticommunist ideas and to attack the Communist Party. This phenomenon is new and unusual for us. Although a wave of anticommunism is very harmful to us in this historical time for Lithuania, it nonetheless exists. And we are obliged to point out its causes and plan specific actions to increase the prestige of the party member.

Unfortunately this thought was not developed well in either the reports or the debates. At that moment they only agreed that the Lithuanian Communist Party must renew itself ideologically and that steps in that direction are still slow and not always consistent.

Yes, that is probably true. But what is the reason? And where are the ways and means of surmounting them? Everyone knows that we are no longer satisfied today by the dogmatic interpretation of Marxism-Leninism that has lasted for decades. And those who have merely declared this once more have not made any great discovery.

Not many, but a few of the delegates at the conference also talked about their former friends in the party that stayed loyal to the CPSU platform. I am pleased that there were no insults in reference to them—"the shadow party," "moths," etc. Have they forgotten how to call each other names? Very good. It is good that instead there was an appeal to search together for points in common and to work hand in hand for the good of our republic. The only thing I did not hear was who should be the first to extend a hand and call for a conscientious, honest dialog.

P. Abaryus, L. Radzyavichus, and Ya. Gagilene and many of the other speakers said that the existing structure of gorkoms and raykoms [rayon party committees] is obsolete and does not correspond to current requirements. Many suggested that the raykom be abolished, as the residents of Kaunas did recently, leaving only the gorkom. The vacated buildings would be given to social organizations and movements. In addition, a man who is authoritative, well-known, and respected by all Lithuania, not one who is on the regular staff, should by elected first secretary of the gorkom.

Warmly greeted by the delegates and guests of the 26th Conference of the Vilnius Gorkom, Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, also spoke. He said that the work of the capital's communists always has been and remains today an example for all communists of Lithuania. And all the more in these difficult times of self-determination. Therefore the responsibility of the party organizations as well as of each individual communist continues to grow.

"The declaration of the republic's independence is approaching," said A. Brazauskas. "What are we, members of the Lithuanian Communist Party, going to do? We will vote for passage of such an act. It can be no other way because we, the members of the Lithuanian Communist Party, wrote it into our program as a basic goal. However there are not many of us to be proposing independence. The question arises: How are we to realistically enforce it? Let everyone be aware that the road to independence is long and is not paved with roses."

The 26th Conference of the Vilnius Gorkom of the Lithuanian Communist Party ended late at night. The results of the elections were declared. Algirdas Gritsyus, department head at the Institute of Semiconductor Physics of the Lithuanian Communist Party Academy of Sciences, was elected first secretary of the Vilnius Lithuanian Communist Party Gorkom. Yanina Gagilene was elected second secretary, and Aristidas Balchetis and Stanislav Vilkin were elected secretaries.

V. Leypus was elected chairman of the appeals commission, and A. Baronas was elected his deputy.

R. Grigaravichyus heads the finance committee, and K.V. Bublis is his deputy.

Results of Lithuanian Election Run-Off Reported

90UN1239A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 7 Mar 90 p 1

[Report: "In the Republic Electoral Commission"]

[Text] **Results of elections of deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] held on 4 March 1990 and published on the basis of reports of the okrug electoral commissions.**

Pilisskiy Electoral District No. 1

Total number of eligible voters—18,396
Total number of votes cast—12,205
Number of ballots declared invalid—112
Rolandas Povilenis—5,204 "for", 6,889 "against"
Vladas Terlyatskas—6,043 "for", 6,050 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Vladas Terlyatskas**, senior lecturer at Vilnius University.

Zhirmunskiy Electoral District No. 3

Total number of eligible voters—17,783
Total number of votes cast—11,286
Number of ballots declared invalid—62
Lyudvikas-Saulyus Razma—7,271 "for", 3,953 "against"
Gennadiy Tarasov—3,844 "for", 7,380 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Lyudvikas-Saulyus Razma**, rector of Vilnius Teachers College

Vyarkyayskiy Electoral District No. 5

Total number of eligible voters—19,160
Total number of votes cast—11,893
Number of ballots declared invalid—52
Mikhail Alekseyev—4,016 "for", 7,825 "against"
Kazimera-Danute Prunskene—7,609 "for", 4,232 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Kazimera-Danute Prunskene**, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers.

Fabiyonishkskiy Electoral District No. 11

Total number of eligible voters—19,542
Total number of votes cast—11,898
Number of ballots declared invalid—66
Rishard Khmelevskiy—4,123 "for", 7,709 "against"
Pyatras Vaytekunas—7,365 "for", 4,467 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Pyatras Vaytekunas**, research assistant at the Physics Institute of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius.

Taurasskiy Electoral District No. 12

Total number of eligible voters—16,590
Total number of votes cast—11,437
Number of ballots declared invalid—68
Vyacheslav Dobychin—3,893 "for", 7,476 "against"
Eugeniyus Petrovas—7,203 "for", 4,166 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Eugeniyus Petrovas**, engineer at the "Gelikon" experimental plant of the Institute of Semiconductor Physics, Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius.

Panyaryayskiy Electoral District No. 14

Total number of eligible voters—17,930
Total number of votes cast—12,308
Number of ballots declared invalid—100
Niyole Ambrazaytite—7,014 "for", 5,194 "against"
Vladislav Shved—4,917 "for", 7,292 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Niyole Ambrazaytite**, Lithuanian opera soloist, Vilnius.

Karolishkskiy Electoral District No. 16

Total number of eligible voters—16,662
Total number of votes cast—10,673
Number of ballots declared invalid—61
Rimvidas Gutauskas—3,305 "for", 7,307 "against"
Prantsishkus Tupikas—5,933 "for", 4,679 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Prantsishkus Tupikas**, director of Vilnius High School No. 47.

Syanamestskiy Electoral District No. 18

Total number of eligible voters—20,270
Total number of votes cast—10,859
Number of ballots declared invalid—113
Nazyryan Khusnutdinov—3,164 "for", 7,582 "against"
Cheslav Okinchits—6,943 "for", 3,803 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Cheslav Okinchits**, lawyer, Vilnius Legal Advice Office No. 1.

Zheleznodorozhnyy Electoral District No. 19

Total number of eligible voters—18,111
Total number of votes cast—10,358
Number of ballots declared invalid—83
Mikolas Burokyavichyus—3,134 "for", 7,141 "against"
Medard Chobot—6,893 "for", 3,382 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Medard Chobot**, deputy director of the Vilnius Scientific Research Institute of Experimental and Clinical Medicine.

Pavilnisskiy Electoral District No. 20

Total number of eligible voters—16,852
Total number of votes cast—8,702
Number of ballots declared invalid—104
Zbignev Baltsevich—4,317 "for", 4,281 "against"
Vytautas Gaydamavichyus—3,579 "for", 5,019 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Zbignev Baltsevich**, editor of the newspaper KURYER VILENSKI.

Novovilnyaskiy Electoral District No. 21

(Footnote) (According to Article 53 of the Law on Elections of Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the republic electoral commission has designated repeat elections for 7 April of this year)

Total number of eligible voters—18,588
Total number of votes cast—8,379
Number of ballots declared invalid—146
Sergey Rudnik—4,332 "for", 3,901 "against"
Iosif Tomashevich—3,065 "for", 5,168 "against"

Kurshskiy Electoral District No. 39

Total number of eligible voters—18,185
Total number of votes cast—12,915
Number of ballots declared invalid—113
Georgiy Kruk—5,234 "for", 7,568 "against"
Lyudvikas-Nartsizas Rasimavichyus—7,213 "for", 5,589 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Lyudvikas-Nartsizas Rasimavichyus**, lawyer at Klaipeda Legal Advice Office.

Nauyakemskiy Electoral District No. 42

Total number of eligible voters—21,449
Total number of votes cast—14,697
Number of ballots declared invalid—89
Eugeniyus Gentvilas—10,039 "for", 4,569 "against"
Valeriy Sotnikov—4,315 "for", 10,293 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Eugeniyus Gentvilas**, junior research assistant at the Mathematics and Cybernetics Institute of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Klaipeda.

Zhardininkskiy Electoral District No. 43

Total number of eligible voters—17,149
Total number of votes cast—10,663
Number of ballots declared invalid—71
Pyatras Ginetas—6,347 "for", 4,245 "against"
Povilas Vasilyauskas—2,893 "for", 7,699 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Pyatras Ginetas**, driver-compressor operator at the Klaipeda Mechanization Administration No. 5.

Payurskiy Electoral District No. 45

Total number of eligible voters—15,197
Total number of votes cast—10,858
Number of ballots declared invalid—94
Pyatras Tsirtautas—2,522 "for", 8,242 "against"
Alfonsas Zhalis—7,748 "for", 3,016 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Alfonsas Zhalis**, ispolkom [executive committee] chairman of the Klaipeda City Soviet of People's Deputies.

Zhemaytskiy Electoral District No. 47

Total number of eligible voters—17,162
Total number of votes cast—11,100
Number of ballots declared invalid—65
Antanas Klyunka—4,479 "for", 6,556 "against"
Donatas Morkunas—5,947 "for", 5,088 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Donatas Morkunas**, second secretary of Shyaulyayskiy Gorkom [city party committee], Lithuanian Communist Party.

First Alitusskiy Electoral District No. 59

Total number of eligible voters—14,952
Total number of votes cast—8,611
Number of ballots declared invalid—19
Saulyus Pechelyunas—5,303 "for", 3,289 "against"
Viktoras Valentukyavichyus—2,937 "for", 5,655 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Saulyus Pechelyunas**, senior engineer at the Lithuanian Institute for Urban Construction Design, Vilnius.

Vidzgirskiy Electoral District No. 61

Total number of eligible voters—17,587
Total number of votes cast—10,352
Number of ballots declared invalid—31
Bronislovas-Ionas Yanonis—4,398 "for", 5,923 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Vytautas Kolesnikovas**, chairman of the Alitus Arts Society "Garmoniya."

Prekulskiy Electoral District No. 65

Total number of eligible voters—18,272
Total number of votes cast—14,251
Number of ballots declared invalid—104
Algimantas-Vintsas Ulba—7,164 "for", 6,983 "against"
Vytautas Zabela—6,761 "for", 7,386 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Algimantas-Vintsas Ulba**, director of the "Prekule" poultry sovkhoz [state farm], Klaipedskiy Rayon, Gargzhday.

Neftyaninkskiy Electoral District No. 77

(Footnote) (According to Article 53 of the Law on Elections of Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the republic electoral commission has designated repeat elections for 7 April of this year)

Total number of eligible voters—13,982
Total number of votes cast—6,310
Number of ballots declared invalid—175
Raymondas Daukantas—2,615 "for", 3,520 "against"
Yuozas Katkus—3,118 "for", 3,017 "against"

Kelmeskiy Electoral District No. 82

Total number of eligible voters—18,187
Total number of votes cast—13,015
Number of ballots declared invalid—89
Arunas Bernadishyus—5,739 "for", 7,187 "against"
Antanas Rachas—6,714 "for", 6,212 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Antanas Rachas**, teacher at Kelme High School No. 2.

Uzhvyantskiy Electoral District No. 83

Total number of eligible voters—16,388
Total number of votes cast—12,501
Number of ballots declared invalid—115
Stasis Kashauskas—6,116 "for", 6,270 "against"
Zenonas Machernyus—6,069 "for", 6,317 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Stasis Kashauskas**, writer, Vilnius.

Radvilishkskiy Electoral District No. 89

Total number of eligible voters—20,023
Total number of votes cast—14,335
Number of ballots declared invalid—74
Sergey Bryzhakhin—6,312 "for", 7,949 "against"
Arvidas-Kostas Leshchinskas—7,731 "for", 6,530 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Arvidas-Kostas Leshchinskas**, dean of the Faculty of Production and Management Economics of Vilnius University.

Kurshenskiy Electoral District No. 92

Total number of eligible voters—16,674
Total number of votes cast—12,164
Number of ballots declared invalid—59
Yonas Bezaras—5,766 "for", 6,339 "against"
Iokubas Minkyavichyus—5,832 "for", 6,273 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Iokubas Minkyavichyus,** academician, secretary of the Social Sciences Department of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius.

Yonishkskiy Electoral District No. 93

Total number of eligible voters—23,014
Total number of votes cast—16,038
Number of ballots declared invalid—107
Kyastutis Chilinskas—5,904 "for", 10,027 "against"
Gintaras Ramonas—7,921 "for", 8,010 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Gintaras Ramonas,** chairman of the "Daukshchyay" kolkhoz [collective farm], Ionishkskiy Rayon.

Pakruoyskiy Electoral District No. 94

Total number of eligible voters—22,162
Total number of votes cast—17,789
Number of ballots declared invalid—101
Feliksas Klupshas—5,514 "for", 12,174 "against"
Algirdas Razhauskas—11,852 "for", 5,836 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Algirdas Razhauskas,** chairman of the "Zhvirblonyay" kolkhoz, Pakruoyskiy Rayon.

Anikshchyayskiy Electoral District No. 100

Total number of eligible voters—19,406
Total number of votes cast—14,054
Number of ballots declared invalid—130
Irena Andrukaytene—7,722 "for", 6,202 "against"
Yonas Yanishyus—5,328 "for", 8,596 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Irena Andrukaytene,** teacher at Anikshchyay Y. Bilyunas High School.

Vilkavishkskiy Electoral District No. 134

Total number of eligible voters—19,239
Total number of votes cast—13,294
Number of ballots declared invalid—84
Vidmante Yasukaytite—7,042 "for", 6,168 "against"
Arturas Simanavichyus—5,597 "for", 7,613 "against"
Elected deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet: **Vidmante Yasukaytite,** writer, Vilnius.

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Passes Laws

Status of State Organs

WA0404194090 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 13 Mar 90 p 2

[Law of the Republic of Lithuania "On Changing the Status of Higher Organs of State Administration of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Under Union and Republic Jurisdiction" published under the rubric: "First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania of the First Convocation"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania **decrees:**

1. To ensure that all former ministries, state committees, and departments of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic under Union and republic jurisdiction are made subordinate only to the Republic of Lithuania.
2. This present law will go into effect immediately after it is passed.

[Signed] V. LANDSBERGIS, chairman of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Soviet.
Vilnius, 11 March 1990

Temporary Basic Law

WA0404193890 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 13 Mar 90 p 2

[Law of the Republic of Lithuania "On a Temporary Basic Law of the Republic of Lithuania" published under the rubric: "First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania of the First Convocation"]

[Text] Noting the need to bring the provisions of the restored Constitution of Lithuania of 12 May 1938 into accord with the altered political, economic, and other social relations, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania **decrees:**

1. To suspend the 12 May 1938 Constitution of Lithuania.
2. To approve the temporary Basic Law of the Republic of Lithuania.
3. To ensure that the laws and other legal acts in effect until now in Lithuania that do not contradict the temporary Basic Law of the Republic of Lithuania remain in force.
4. This present Law will go into effect immediately after it is passed.

[Signed] V. LANDSBERGIS, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania.
L. SABUTIS, secretary of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania.
Vilnius, 11 March 1990

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Issues Decrees

Council of Ministers Appointed

WA0404193990 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 13 Mar 90 p 2

[Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic "Regarding the Declaration of the

Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers" published under the rubric: "First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania of the First Convocation"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] **decrees:**

1. To adopt the declaration of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers concerning the constitution of its authority before the newly elected Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.
2. To charge the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers with continuing to exercise its authority until the republic's Supreme Soviet forms a new government.
3. To charge Kazimera **Prunskene**, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, with the temporary execution of the duties of chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers.

[Signed] V. LANDSBERGIS, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.
L. SABUTIS, secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.
Vilnius, 11 March 1990

Deputy Chairmen Appointed

WA0404193490 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 13 Mar 90 p 1

[Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic "On the Election of Deputy Chairmen of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic" published under the rubric: "First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania of the First Convocation"]

[Text] The Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet **decrees:**

To elect as deputy chairmen of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet:

Bronislovas-Yuozas **Kuzmitskas**, deputy of the Pashilaychskiy electoral district No. 9, head of the department of philosophy, sociology, and law at the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences.

Kazimeras **Moteka**, deputy of the Raseynskiy electoral district No. 84, advocate at the Vilnius Legal Advice Office No. 1.

Cheslovas-Vitautas **Stankyavichyus**, deputy of the Muravskiy electoral district No. 29, chief engineer at the Kaunas Institute for Planning of City Construction.

[Signed] V. LANDSBERGIS, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.
L. SABUTIS, secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.
Vilnius, 11 March 1990

Sabutis Named Secretary

WA0404193590 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 13 Mar 90 p 1

[Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic "On the Election of a Secretary of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic" published under the rubric: "First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania of the First Convocation"]

[Text] The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet **decrees:**

To elect as secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Lyudvikas **Sabutis**, deputy of the Sheshkinskiy electoral district No. 10.

[Signed] V. LANDSBERGIS, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.
Vilnius, 11 March 1990

Legal Power Invested

WA0404194190 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 13 Mar 90 p 2

[Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania "On Extending the Authority of Several State Organs of the Republic of Lithuania" published under the rubric: "First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania of the First Convocation"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania **decrees:**

Before the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania forms organs with new staffs, to charge the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Court, the rayon and city courts, the procurator of the republic and the procurators subordinate to him, the State Arbitrage, and the organs of people's control with exercising their power.

[Signed] V. LANDSBERGIS, chairman of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Soviet.
Vilnius, 11 March 1990

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Issues Appeals

Appeal to Nationalities

90UN1342A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 14 Mar 90 p 1

["Appeal from the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet to the National Communities of Lithuania" published under the rubric: "First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic of the First Convocation"]

[Text] Imbued with a love peace and harmony, the life of various national and religious communities of Lithuania, preserving the ancient times of Gediminas in memory, even today is showing us the way to wise tolerance. Lithuania is our common homeland and always, when we have remained unified in years of disaster, success has been with us. On this same Lithuanian land we have had to experience many years of oppression from foreign forces, which has been especially difficult when our enemies have managed to inflame civil strife.

The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, having proclaimed the restoration of the independent Lithuanian state, calls all national communities of Lithuania to fraternal labor, the goal of which is to return Lithuania to the family of free, democratic states of Europe and to guarantee all citizens and all national communities of Lithuania the right to foster their languages, cultures, and customs. All political and economic decisions of the Lithuanian state will be made taking into account the interests of all national communities living in Lithuania without encroachment on their national dignity and rights.

We shall have to do everything possible so that our honest aspirations receive the approval of the world community so that the path we have chosen will lead us all to freedom.

[Signed] Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, V. LANDSBERGIS.
Vilnius, 12 March 1990

Appeal for Harmony

90UN1342B Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 14 Mar 90 p 1

[Appeal of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet: "Call to the Lithuanian People for Harmony"; published under the rubric: "First Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic of the First Convocation"]

[Text] The hopes of the people of Lithuania have been realized! After the bloody lessons of history Lithuania has risen again to a bright and just life. While rejoicing and welcoming it we are aware of the difficult legacy that has been left to us—a collapsing economy and suffering people. As never before we need resolve and belief in our strength if we are to strive to see Lithuania civilized and highly cultured in a worthy community of European nations. Short-visioned dissensions and offenses, the division of those close to us into "good" and "bad" according to data on questionnaires or party or national affiliation, all the while forgetting about work and capabilities, could be fatal. Even those who have fallen, been broken by a merciless system, been deluded, turned against one another, taken to drink, given over to lies and vice, who have spied, snitched, and falsely accused their friends—all are children of one and the same mother—Lithuania: Nobody can be barred from the path to resurrection, repentance, and return to the path of truth. Independence is not a harsh day of reckoning, not a desire for blind retribution, not a triumph of the victors, but the ongoing path of our historical reconciliation, our dignity, love, and renewal.

[Signed] Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, V. LANDSBERGIS
Vilnius, 12 Marcy 1990.

CPSU Group on Property Issues in Lithuania

90UN1241C Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 8 Mar 90 p 3

[Report on interview with V.T. Suslin, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, by Kazis Ustsila: "Our Aim Is To Find Mutually Acceptable Solutions"; date and place not specified; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA LITVA introduction]

[Text] **As is known, a group of senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee has been working in Lithuania for two weeks now. Vitaliy Timofeyevich Suslin, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, leader of the group, agreed to talk about the purposes behind its visit.**

I would like to say first of all that we are grateful for the initiative of according us an opportunity to have our say in the republic press. The point is that a kind of detective novel is being created around our stay in the republic and that various rumors are going around which, I believe, need to be dispelled in this interview.

So, about the purposes of the visit. As is known, having discussed the question, "The Decisions of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress," the CPSU Central Committee February (1990) Plenum planned in the resolution which was adopted to assist the Lithuanian Communist Party Provisional Central Committee (on the CPSU Platform) in its practical activity and to create for this the appropriate material and financial conditions.

A whole month had elapsed since the plenum, but things were still at a standstill. It was in this connection that the CPSU Central Committee working group arrived. Inasmuch as party business is very complex, the group incorporates senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, lawyers, and a number of other officials.

I would like to mention also that we have no intention, as some people are maintaining, of in some way infringing the interests of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party and its Central Committee. On the contrary, taking the fundamentals of legislation and morality common to all mankind as a basis, we would like to create equal conditions for the activity of both Lithuanian Communist Parties. All party property, and I emphasize this, will remain in Lithuania. I emphasize this with good reason since it is being said in some interviews published in the republic press that we are about to appropriate some things from Lithuania. Such assertions are contained in the speeches of some high-ranking leaders also.

The material-technical facilities of the party authorities created from CPSU budget resources are the property of the CPSU. Of course, a considerable proportion of the material-technical facilities has been created by the communists of the Lithuanian party organization also.

As far as the legal aspect of the matter is concerned, I would like to call attention to certain points. We are guided by the fundamentals of civil legislation of the USSR and the union republics, the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Civil Code and, finally, the principles of relations between the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs and the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. For example, the Lithuanian SSR Civil Code, Article 106, which deals with the property of the unions and other public organizations, also says that "the right to dispose of property constituting property of the Union and other public organizations belongs exclusively to the proprietors themselves." Therefore any endeavor to give this property to someone without the consent of the proprietor is unlawful. Thus our position is not in conflict with Lithuanian legislation. The law "Principles of Ownership" (Article 20) recently adopted in your republic prohibits the forcible confiscation from a proprietor of his property and the demand that the proprietor amalgamate his property with someone else's against his wishes.

The working group is working quite intensively. Some questions are being settled, certain contradictions are arising in respect of others. But I believe that if we are guided by the legal base and normal human relations even, there is no reason to believe that these problems will not be solved. It is a question primarily of premises both in Vilnius and elsewhere, of the gorkoms and raykoms [city and rayon party committees], of the mass media, the Party History Institute, the party school, the motor pool, and other property. It is essential to decide the question of the location and creation of the conditions for the work of both Communist Party structures. There are no specific solutions as yet but we hope that they will be achieved in the very near future.

A fair amount of time has already elapsed since the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress. These questions could already have been solved on the principles of mutual understanding and the mutual respect of the two central committees without our intervention. Unfortunately, not a single question had in practice been decided. So we have had to take up the matter in order, on a legal and party basis, to find a common opinion and mutually acceptable solutions. It would be desirable for all this to be done in a calm, businesslike atmosphere, without undue, needless emotions.

Lithuanian Parties Bicker Over Property

PM0204155390 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 90 p 4

[Report by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent V. Zarovskiy: "Lithuania: Deserters and Assault Troops"]

[Text] If you press your forehead against the windowpane, you can see assault troopers in the foyer of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. The glass is of a special kind there, it prevents you seeing from the street what is happening inside, which makes people all the more interested.

"On the morning of 27 March, the duty officer telephoned me from the Central Committee waiting room and reported that armed, fully equipped subunits of assault troops had burst into the building," A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, said at a press conference the same day. "What for? Our lengthy talks on the division of property between the two Communist Parties had not produced results... We were convinced that in the main the property belonged to us, because the bulk of the old Communist Party's members had switched to the autonomous Lithuanian Communist Party. But others do not recognize that fact. This has been going on a long time. I never thought that this would happen... True, the soldiers are not engaging in any actions inside the building. There was a meeting with the two lieutenant colonels directing the subunit in our building. They said that they had received orders from their superiors..."

V. Shved, secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party on the CPSU platform, thinks differently. At the meeting with journalists he said: "Of course, an appeal to the Soviet Army—and it was with its help that we took control of most of the buildings—is not the best way to protect party property. But we were forced to resort to this method because neither the prosecutor's office nor the court in the republic wants to help us now."

Readers are clearly aware of the split that occurred at the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress. The question of dividing the party's property arose immediately after the congress. For a long time the two parties' apparatuses coexisted in the same buildings. At the beginning of March a CPSU Central Committee group arrived in Lithuania. Ye.V. Baublis, chief of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee organizational-cadre department, gave an assurance that there can be no question of sharing the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee building: "The supporters of the Burokyavichyus and Shved party will not get even a part of this building..."

V. Suslin, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee party building and cadre work department, said in an interview that "the material and technical base of party organs, established using CPSU budget resources, is the property of the CPSU. Of course, a considerable proportion of the material and technical base was created by communists of the Lithuanian party organization... It is necessary to resolve the question of the location of the two Communist Party structures and the creation of conditions for their work. There have been no concrete decisions yet but we hope that they will be reached in the near future."

The chronology of events is like this: The republic's new authorities transfer the party city committee [gorkom] to the committee for nationalities' affairs, the Union of Lithuanian scientists, and the social democrats—and on Friday, supporters of the Lithuanian Communist Party on the CPSU platform, who disagree with that decision, take the gorkom under their protection. The Higher Party School is transferred to the pedagogical institute—and on Sunday the assault forces take it under their protection. One side calls this "seizure," the other "protection."

Rumors are rife in Vilnius, the republic thrives on rumor. It is easier for foreign journalists. They broadcast what they see. Tanks and armored personnel carriers tour the capital at night—that means new subunits have been introduced. Transporters land at the airport—assault forces have been flown in. But at the Vilnius northern military camp and in Pabrade I and others were assured these were planned exercises. I asked a lieutenant colonel, deputy chief of the division's political directorate: "In view of the present situation in Lithuania, couldn't you have postponed the exercises or ultimately have chosen another location? Why present a pretext..." "We cannot disrupt military training," he replied. I agreed. I have served in the armed forces myself. I know that orders are orders. But not everyone's nerves can stand it.

One side has suffered. They are the Lithuanian military servicemen. I met with some at the Supreme Soviet where they, in breach of the law, take refuge after fleeing from their military units. They register here and then leave... No, they do not go home. Some hide in the woods, others in hospitals. The list runs to over 300 and the number not registered is even greater. At a press conference 21 March, K. Moteka, deputy chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, reported: "We have been warned that after 24 March measures relating to their return will be adopted." The republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, he went on to note, has adopted a resolution placing them under the republic's protection.

What happened next? The Soviet Army in Lithuania has been declared the army of another state, meanwhile the parliament appeals to "citizens of the Lithuanian republic serving in the USSR Armed Forces" to "stay where you are and wait for a negotiated solution with the USSR Government on your return to Lithuania." Separated from their homes and receiving information by hand and word of mouth they interpret events in their own way here. I asked Raymondis A. why he had decided to flee. His answer was disheartening: "Because the act on independence has been adopted." On television they said: Do not seek shelter with friends, it is better to go to the churches. But will thick walls protect you against the law, and what is the law of the wall? What is the USSR Defense Ministry going do to maintain discipline among the troops, or the Lithuanian parliament to maintain the republic's much-vaunted protection of Lithuanian servicemen? It has all gone very far and there's no knowing how it will end for the fugitives, but most likely it will mean the penal battalion.

Meanwhile, the parliament is adopting more and more appeals, resolutions, and laws. Our newspaper has gained a permanent reader in the form of the Chairman of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet. If he is followed by other members of Sajudis, the circulation will undoubtedly rise. Each publication in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA is analyzed in parliament. But as for how it is interpreted, judge for yourself. "Without properly investigating what is openly going on here, today's KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA (20 March) writes that Sajudis, having taken power, has converted its entire press from opposition to establishment. I did not notice when our press changed... KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA rejoices in the fact that 'there is an element of truth in this picture' and that parliament is composed entirely of Sajudis supporters. That is not so. But even if it were, that would be an expression of the voters' will. But there are no puppets here."

Processes are taking place in Lithuania which affect not only its economy and policy but also the whole country. It is the duty of every journalist to try to understand them and especially to convey his opinion to the readers. I believe "history will judge," and that history is being made in the republic every day.

The formation of the republic's government has been going on for a week now. The number of ministries has been considerably reduced. Only 18 are left. The structure of the Council of Ministers is being adapted to the new economic order. Even though market relations have still not been formed in Lithuania, the ministries will no longer exercise direct leadership of enterprises and organizations. Their task is the preparation of programs, scientific and technical progress, and general economic policy. Time will tell how effective the new system will be. Four leading Lithuanian economists have been elected to parliament but for the time being the chairman of the Council of Ministers is, as expected, in the forefront with her program. The procedure for appointing ministers is bound to be dogged by misunderstandings. The deputies' club in the parliament, consisting of Sajudis supporters, examines a candidate and decides his fate, so to speak. Some contenders have not even been examined by the Supreme Soviet commissions. The appointment of a geophysicist to the post of foreign minister and of a 28-year old postgraduate student from the Vilnius University department Lithuanian literature as minister of culture and education caused a certain confusion.

Work in the coalition government has already been discussed at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held on Monday. It was decided to reorganize the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee's Party History Institute into a department of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences Institute of History and the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee publishing house as a joint stock company. An appeal to the republic's government has been adopted on the safekeeping of property belonging to the party as has an appeal "On the political approval of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet's act 'On the restoration of an independent Lithuanian state' and ways of implementing it and on political consensus in Lithuania."

All Lithuania's enterprises are working normally, there is no violence or interethnic clashes, there is crime, as throughout the country, and rallies are taking place in an organized and calm way. But this, of course, is only an outward calm...

My Supreme Soviet pass has been stamped with a seal—the emblem of the chase—a knight on a steed charging full tilt. Where is he hurrying to so quickly?

Estonia To Mint Own Money

LD1304142390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] The signing of an agreement concluded between the Bank of Estonia, the Ministry of Finance of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], and a foreign firm printing new republican bank notes has taken place at Government House in the Estonian SSR. The Estonian kroon will replace the all-union ruble in the republic at the end of the year. Metallic Estonian cents will be put into circulation simultaneously with the paper notes. The Tallinn Juveel works is preparing to mint them.

Estonian Supreme Soviet Proceedings Reported

PM0604144790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Leonid Levitskiy report : "Decision by Means of a Referendum"]

[Text] Tallinn—The first working week of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, 12th Convocation, has ended.

The session is not yet over, but the assessment of the documents adopted by deputies is extremely contradictory: From delight to indignation.

Let us start with what everyone agrees on in principle. The election of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet chairman—he is A. Ryuytel; of the Presidium, and of chairmen of deputies' standing commissions. The chairman of the Estonian SSR government (prime minister) was appointed—E. Savisaar. The parliament was also pretty much unanimous in adopting a resolution on winding up the people's control organs.

Now we come to what divided the parliament, and then the republic.

IZVESTIYA already reported the adoption by a majority of deputies of a resolution "On Estonian Statehood" and a declaration on cooperation with the citizens' congress. The documents say that the Estonian SSR does not exist as such, but there is a territory occupied by the Soviet Union on which an illegal authority has been established, and a transitional period has been announced on the road to resurrecting the Estonian Republic. It was asserted that these documents "take into account the clearly expressed will of the Estonian people."

But what do people of the other nationalities, making up 40 percent of the republic's population, think? The deputies representing them in parliament are members of the "For Equal Rights" group and they made a strong protest at the session concerning attempts to unilaterally alter the state system of the Estonian SSR and USSR. The republican committee for the protection of Soviet power and civil rights described the parliament's decision as the beginning of a coup d'etat and the dismantling of Soviet power, and declared them illegal. The committee urged the USSR President to take all the necessary steps to preserve the state and the social and political system. In order to ensure observance of USSR legislation, in the committee's opinion, it is necessary to place city and rayon organs of the Prosecutor's Office and militia under the immediate jurisdiction of the USSR Prosecutor's Office and Internal Affairs Ministry. In response to the creation of "Kaitseliit" [resurrected Estonian Defense Union], enterprises and organizations are recommended to embark on the formation of workers' detachments to protect law and order.

The Supreme Soviet session decisions were not accepted by the majority of inhabitants of the cities of Narva, Kohtla-Jarve, and Sillamae. On 13 March there was an extraordinary session of the Sillamae City Soviet, which declared the resolution on Estonian statehood illegal and not subject to implementation in Sillamae. According to the city deputies, Estonia's secession from the USSR is possible only in accordance with the country's laws and on the basis of a referendum of the entire population of the republic. The session backed the resolution of the republican committee for the protection of Soviet power. Similar decisions were adopted by sessions of the Kohtla-Jarve and Narva City Soviets. Around one-third of the Estonian population lives in this region—the northeast.

The Estonian Communist Party (CPSU Platform) Central Committee also condemned the Supreme Soviet resolution and declaration as unlawful and designed to kindle interethnic strife in the republic and to destabilize the USSR. The plenum resolution stresses that questions of Estonia's future statehood can only be solved through a referendum...

Session Ends; Bills Adopted

LD1204123190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] The second session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet has ended. One of the main topics was a discussion of the republic's bill on service by residents of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic in the USSR Armed Forces in the transition period in which the USSR law on universal military service is not recognized on the territory of Estonia. In addition, the validity of those articles of the criminal code of the Estonian SSR envisioning punishment for the evasion of conscription and the performance of active military service is revoked on the territory of the republic. Seventy-one deputies voted in favor of this bill, with four abstaining and three against.

Thus, a picture of relative unanmimity may emerge but this is far from the case: the document has for a very long time been examined and redrafted in the commissions of the Supreme Soviet—that for legal affairs and that for questions of defense. There were several drafts and far from all remarks, as Deputy Zakharov said in a talk with a TASS correspondent during an interval, were taken into account. This, apparently, served as a reason for the fact that again a considerable group of deputies did not take part in the voting.

Earlier, the Supreme Soviet adopted the law on labor service in the Estonian SSR. According to this law, young men from Estonia who for valid reasons cannot serve under arms receive the right to spend a fixed term in national economy projects. It was decided at the session to extend until 15 May this year the term of registration of those wishing to do their service on an alternative basis.

The Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR also adopted the text of an address to President of the USSR Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

Two Ministers Named

PM1204141990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Leonid Levitskiy report under the rubric "Direct Link": "First Ministers Named"]

[Text] Tallinn—The second session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet has begun forming a new government.

Prime Minister E. Savisaar has submitted nine candidacies—part of the future cabinet—to the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the deputies' permanent commissions.

The previous day E. Savisaar described the situation in an interview as follows:

"We are the so-called government of the crisis period. Few people can say whether we will emerge 'unscathed' from this crisis and, if we do, at the cost of what efforts and losses. Quite naturally, we intend to form a competent government that will enjoy broad support."

The deputies managed to discuss and approve two proposed candidacies. The new cabinet's first members are the minister of health and the minister of culture. The health minister is Andres Ellamaa, a surgeon by specialty and vice president of the physicians union. The composer Lepo Sumera was deputy minister of culture in the previous government. Now he is the minister.

The discussion of candidacies for other ministerial posts is continuing. To all appearances, it will be a coalition government, but with a preponderance of members of the People's Front.

Proposal to Gorbachev

LD1304103490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Report by Haimar Lenk, correspondent in Estonia—read by announcer]

[Text] The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet's address to USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has been printed in Estonian newspapers today. It proposes the immediate start of negotiations between the Soviet Union and a plenipotentiary delegation of the Estonian SSR on the restoration of the Estonian Republic's independence and political sovereignty.

Estonian Coalition Communist Party Plenum Held

PM0604131490 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Apr 90 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under general heading "Plenums Held"]

[Text] Tallinn, 5 Apr—A plenum of the Estonian Communist Party coalition Central Committee which was held here today discussed questions concerning the financial and economic activity of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee in the transitional period.

It was decided from 1 May this year to grant city and rayon party organizations the right to go over to economic accountability. From that time they will receive all funds from party dues and economic activity. Normatives for contributions to the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee account are to be set by city and rayon committees on the basis of Estonian Communist Party Central Committee decisions, by agreement between them.

Temporary instructions on the procedure for registering party members and for the structure and payment of membership dues in the Estonian Communist Party's transitional period were approved in the main.

The plenum has ended.

Pro-CPSU Estonian CP Holds Plenary Meeting

LD1204204590 Moscow TASS in English 1855 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Tallinn April 12 TASS—The Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party [CP], which favours organizational and political unity with the Soviet Communist Party, held its third plenary meeting here today to discuss its programme and additions to the new rules of the Soviet Communist Party.

The plenary meeting proposed to mention in the rules that a Communist Party member cannot join another political party or political organization. New proposals were made concerning the formation of the party apparatus.

The plenary meeting discussed the decree of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet on partial depolitisation of the republic's law-enforcement bodies and concluded that the decree is unlawful and represents interference in the Soviet Communist Party's internal affairs.

Estonian Premier Views Baltic Cooperation

PM1204132490 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE SONDAG in Danish 8 Apr 90 p 16

[Report on 5 April interview with Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar by Flemming Rose: "Estonia's New Leader: Lithuania Is the Key to the Baltic Solution"]

[Text] Tallinn—The bronze statue of Lenin seemed to give yet another scowl on Tuesday evening [3 April] when 39-year-old Edgar Savisaar was elected Estonia's first noncommunist prime minister for 50 years.

But Savisaar was elected, albeit by the narrowest possible margin: 54 votes were needed, and he won 53 [sentence as published]. The narrow majority has caused observers to talk about a government crisis even before the government has been formed. In his inaugural speech, however, the new prime minister said that he is ready to form a coalition government in which there will be room for all the six parties in parliament.

Savisaar did not promise the moon in his inaugural speech. "A period of blood, sweat, and tears awaits us, since Estonian society cannot immediately digest the medicine with which it will be treated," was his gloomy prediction.

Well-known Social Democrat Marju Lauristin believes that Savisaar is the right man to lead Estonia through the one transitional period that has been declared on the road to full independence. "He is energetic and has the courage of his convictions. Both these qualities will be much needed in the period ahead," Lauristin said.

Savisaar is leader of the Estonian People's Front and has behind him a past as economy minister and chairman of Estonia's state planning committee. He is a historian by training.

BERLINGSKE TIDENDE spoke to Savisaar two days after he was elected prime minister.

[Rose] What view do you take of the Western world's cautious reaction to the Baltic republics' efforts to achieve independence?

[Savisaar] I would of course have liked to see a more positive and resolute attitude to what is happening in Lithuania, and I think such an attitude would have been natural. But we have met with the wait-and-see attitude from the West before—in November 1988, for example, when we passed our sovereignty law—so it comes as no surprise to me, and I can understand it in a sense. People want to wait and see what happens before reacting.

But if events take a negative turn and Lithuania's independence is crushed, it will then be too late to deplore developments and say: That was not what we wanted; you must forgive us.

It is now that action is needed. And I believe that the West feels a sense of responsibility, as we do ourselves.

In the last couple of weeks I have been telling Western journalists: If the West wishes to support Estonia, it must help Lithuania. I mean by this that the key to the solution to the Baltic question lies in Lithuania.

[Rose] It looks as if the three Baltic republics' moves toward independence will happen in parallel. Do you see this as an advantage or as a disadvantage?

[Savisaar] Today Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are much better integrated than they were in the first half of the 20th century. In 1939 the Soviet Union had the good luck to occupy the Baltic region, partly because the individual republics were more taken up with solving their own problems than with cooperating with the other two.

Today both an economic and a political integration are taking place. Next week we will be signing an agreement on a Baltic common market. There is talk of broad economic cooperation, and our economists have calculated that in the future we can be 90 percent self-sufficient in food and 70 percent self-sufficient in other product areas.

We will implement a division of labor whereby things are done as rationally as possible. When we held our first meeting we found, for example, that all three republics had plans to build a tractor factory. But it must be enough for one of us to take on this task.

The same applies to the coordination of economic policy in relation to the Eastern and Western markets: We will make joint investments and purchases so that we can get discounts for bulk orders, and so on.

[Rose] What about political cooperation?

[Savisaar] In May 1989 the Baltic Forum held its first meeting. The leaders of the three people's fronts met and we set up the Baltic Council—a body for political coordination, which meets around once a month.

Also, in August 1989 the three countries' national movements organized the Baltic Chain in connection with the 50th anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin pact.

The three republics' delegates to the Soviet Union's Supreme Soviet work together in Moscow.

This political and economic integration is itself an obvious arrangement, because our problems and goals are the same: We are occupied by the Soviet Union and wish to regain our independence.

[Rose] Have the three republics drawn up a battle plan in the event of a military intervention?

[Savisaar] As far as I know, the concentration of Soviet troops in the Baltic region today is on the same scale as in 1940, which means that recently the number of Soviet troops has been more than doubled.

But I would add that the problem is not so much the presence of Soviet troops in the Baltic region—after all, there are U.S. troops in Western Europe and the Philippines. The fundamental problem is that we do not have control over our own territory.

If a column of tanks turns up in Estonia we are not informed of it. We are not told why they come, what they will do, or where they are going.

[Rose] How do you view the chances of the real achievement of Estonian independence?

[Savisaar] I am an optimist in life, but a skeptic when it comes to politics. I think that history has given us a chance and it would be stupid of us not to try to grasp it. On the other hand, I understand very clearly that there are a whole series of factors which do not depend on us.

But the Estonian people are determined to regain their independence—and the will of the people is, after all, a factor that weighs heavy.

[Rose] What view do you take of Gorbachev's threat to introduce a "Lithuanian situation" in Estonia?

[Savisaar] I agree with our president when he says that it is not the first time that we have been the target of such things. We have gotten used to it over the years.

[Rose] Can you see a solution to the Baltic crisis?

[Savisaar] It will be a painful process that can only be achieved through political negotiations. And here we put our faith in the newly elected parliaments in Russia and the Ukraine, which appear to be more democratic than the Supreme Soviet in Moscow.

[Rose] Could the Baltic republics' relations with Finland deteriorate if the confrontation with Moscow escalates?

[Savisaar] No, I don't think so. Finland will tread very carefully, as it has done up to now, and this is very understandable, bearing in mind its national interests.

On the other hand, it should also be kept in mind that we too want calm and stability in the Baltic region, but I am afraid that this will only happen when the interests of all the Baltic peoples have been accomodated.

[Rose] You are the joint author of a new economic program for Estonia. What is its goal and how many of its aims has it been possible to realize?

[Savisaar] There are two goals: Estonia's economic independence and the transition to a market economy.

We have well over 100 enterprises which are under Moscow's direct control, but so far we have not succeeded in getting more than forty Union enterprises back into Estonian hands. Also we have gained control of money transfers between Moscow and Tallinn—we have never had this before.

And at the beginning of next year we will introduce our own Estonian crown. But, first, we have to decide what will happen to all the Soviet rubles currently in Estonian financial institutions. This is bound to be one of the major bones of contention, so I will refrain from commenting on it.

Estonian Anti-Army Moves Criticized

PM1204135590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Apr 90 First Edition p 1

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent Captain 2d Class S. Turchenko report under the rubric "Direct Line": "Estonia: Will Reason Prevail"]

[Text] A discussion of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] draft law "On Compulsory Universal Military Service" is expected in the immediate future in the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

A few days ago an event took place in the republic which, although not widely publicized, reflects, in my view, the attitude to the Soviet Armed Forces of a certain section of the most nationalistically inclined Estonian citizens. In the city of Valga a T-34 tank set up on a pedestal in honor of Soviet tank crewmen, who liberated this city 46 years ago from the German fascist aggressors, was blown up by persons unknown. Incidentally, 50,000 Soviet soldiers and commanders—of that army which today some irresponsible people here call an army of occupation—died in fighting for Estonia.

Grateful memories and the Estonian people's traditionally well-meaning attitude to the Soviet Armed Forces are also increasingly being undermined by certain hasty, ill thought-out decisions by the republic's present leadership.

On 6 December 1989 the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution "On Organizing Military Service for Estonian SSR Citizens" which contains a provision on military service by young Estonian men solely on the republic's territory and the restoration of national units....

On 15 March 1990 an Estonian SSR Law "On Labor Service in the Estonian SSR" was adopted which determined that labor service does not come within the competence of the USSR Armed Forces, but is an alternative form of service. Depending on their political and moral convictions the young men can do their service in the place where they live.

On 30 March 1990 the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution "On the State Status of Estonia," the essence of which is the recognition of the illegality of Soviet state power in Estonia.

Such acts and also the actions of certain informal organizations such as, for instance, "Geneva-49," which openly appeals to young men to refuse to do military service in the USSR Armed Forces, are exacerbating the situation.

Out of the 25 cities and rayons (districts as they are now called here) 21 local administrative organs have adopted the decision to refuse to participate in the draft campaign. Draft commissions have been set up only in Narva, Sillamae, Kohtla-Jarve, Ida, and Virumaa. At the same time kaitseliits—defense (from whom?) unions—are being formed in many districts. Squads in the villages, platoons in settlements, and companies in districts.

These facts also cannot fail to cause concern. During the fall draft in Estonia 138 people refused to do military service. Material on them was handed over to the local organs of the prosecutor's offie. But criminal proceedings were not instituted against a single one of them. By 1 April this year, as I was told in the republic's military commissariat, 788 draft certificates had been returned. The inactivity of the authorities has gievn rise to the mass violation of the USSR Law "On Compulsory Universal Military Service" and also of the USSR Council of Ministers resolution No. 305 on draft into the Armed Forces in the spring of this year, which, incidentally, was published here only in the Russian-language newspapers.

On 4 April this year A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, signed a resolution on the election of an Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet commission on defense questions. It comprises 12 deputies who, in the opinion of many journalists writing on military topics, in the overwhelming majority of cases are poorly informed of defense problems and even have not served in the Armed Forces.

On 7 April Army General K. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister, who heads the USSR Defense Ministry commission on questions of the spring draft in the Baltic Republics, held in the Tallinn House of Officers a conference with military commissars and commanders of military units and republic establishments on measures to avert disruption of the spring draft. On the same day he met with A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, specifically to discuss problems connected with this. The nature of the results will depend on the next decisions of the republic's Supreme Soviet and to a huge degree on the Estonian people's self-awareness.

Estonian Reaction to Communist Party Rift

PM3003114790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Mar 90 Second Edition p 2

[Feature including SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA interview with E.-A. Sillari and H. Roots and report by "our special correspondent" V. Pyankova under general heading: "What is Happening in Estonia"; first two paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] "What is happening in Estonia?"—to this question the leaders of the national front and the republic's Communist Party have for several years been answering: "Perestroyka is happening in our republic." And this sound as though Estonia was outstripping the other republics in its activeness and the consistency of its transformations. Today a more specific question has emerged from the general one: "What is happening in the Estonian Communist Party?" And here the answer is far more alarming. Perestroyka has been expressed in the fact that there was a split of the party at the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress. Some delegates did not take part in the vote on the program for reorganizing the Communist Party of Estonia—the program which provided for self-determination and transformation into an independent party. This group continued work after the official closure of the congress and elected its own Central Committee. Thus, instead of uniting positions the 20th congress led to the creation of two parallel party formations—on the basis of the CPSU platform and the basis of self-determination.

On the very next day after the congress closed a press conference was held in Tallinn in the party Central Committee. Here is how SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 27 March 1990 describes it.

Secretaries of Two Party Committees Answer Questions [main subhead]

"Not Act in the Heat of the Moment"

It is perhaps a long time since press conferences at the party Central Committee were attended by such a representative corps of journalists as yesterday. And it was clear why. Enn-Arno Sillari and Harri Roots, who had been elected Central Committee secretaries the night before, without having worked even a full day in their new posts were already prepared to answer questions. And more than enough questions had accumulated, especially after the night's events which had led to the creation of a parallel Central Committee.

Briefly from the speeches.

E.-A. Sillari: The most important thing at the congress was the proclamation of the independence of the Communist Party of Estonia and the adoption of a program which, polls attest, may unite the majority of Estonian communists on the same positions.

A transitional period was set for each communist to determine his attitude toward the program and to be able personally to make a conscious choice—whether or not to become an Estonian Communist Party member.

H. Roots: The most important thing for us now is to explain what actually happened at the 20th congress. This is necessary both for the republic and for the Union. Just one element—usually political parties meeting after parliamentary elections analyze the tactics of their election struggle. But we had virtually no discussion of the struggle for seats in the Supreme Soviet. And that attests to the abnormality of the situation in the party.

Estonian Television: Does it not seem to you that a unique chance of creating a coalition Central Committee has been let slip?

E.-A. Sillari: The chance remains even now. No one has slammed the door shut on our side. We have contacts with party organizations which were unable to make a choice at the congress and with all those ready to cooperate. The right of co-opting into a coalition Central Committee remains in force.

APN: The congress' election of a single Central Committee was the result of a sensible compromise and it seemed there would be no split. Will there now be changes in the Central Committee? Do you see in the future the possibility of a merger of the two Central Committees?

E.-A. Sillari: Time will show a lot. But it is also clear that those who embarked on the split cannot join our Central Committee.

PYAEVALEKHT: In this situation who does the CPSU Central Committee support?

E.-A. Sillari: I had a talk today with A.N. Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. And it was a normal, frank conversation, like before the congress. He treated the adoption of the program with understanding and the need for a transitional period, considering it a sensible and flexible approach.

H. Roots: Our situation is nonetheless different from the Lithuanian situation. There the Lithuanian Communist Party announced its withdrawal from the CPSU and, naturally, the CPSU Central Committee supported the other congress delegates. But we have not announced a split.

PRAVDA: Two wings and two Central Committees have formed in the party. There is a danger that they will engage in recriminations against each other and this will fully discredit the Communist Party in the eyes of the people. Do you not consider it necessary to announce a kind of moratorium on the elucidation of relations and to conduct discussions in a civilized manner:

E.-A. Sillari: We are in favor of this and we are ready for tolerance in relations.

H. Roots: It is not two wings but in fact two parties which have formed. And that complicates the search for consensus. But we do not deny dialogue.

TEKHNIKA YA TOOTMINE: I saw how difficult it was for those Russian delegates who wanted compromise at the congress. I saw how Malkovskiy (first secretary of the Narva Estonian Communist Party gorkom [city committee]—SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA) and others suffered. How to protect them and help them today?

E.-A. Sillari: It is hard for many people now. I think we must all cool down a little and not act in the heat of the moment. We are maintaining ties with all those who want to work together, in one Central Committee.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN: How are the duties allocated among the Central Committee secretaries? Will there be a secretary for agriculture?

E.-A. Sillari: God forbid that we should again engage in industry and the countryside. It was that which led the party into an impasse. We must concern ourselves with people and explain our policy.

APN: You are all at present CPSU members. How will the membership of the Estonian Communist Party be formed? And is it possible to be a member of the CPSU and the Estonian Communist Party simultaneously?

H. Roots: So far we have dealt with CPSU members who are registered with the Estonian Communist Party as a territorial organization. Now those who recognize the independent Estonian Communist Party's program will receive an Estonian Communist Party membership card and they can put it inside their party card, which they are under absolutely no obligation to hand in. That is why a transitional period has been announced until the 21st congress, which will adopt its own statutes. After the congress cards for Estonian Communist Party members will be introduced.

During the transitional stage it will also become clear what will happen with the CPSU and what decisions the 28th congress will take. A keen struggle between reformers and conservatives will also probably take place there.

E.-A. Sillari: There will also be a Russian Communist Party Congress. And it will immediately alter the CPSU's former structure and it is not ruled out that a union of independent communist parties will emerge there.

(SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 27 March 1990)

"Compelled to Split"

Tallinn—And so we have the view of the leaders of the independent Estonian Communist Party. On the day this issue of the republican newspaper was published our special correspondent interviewed Pavel Nikolayevich Panfilov, second secretary of the Tallinn party gorkom, and Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Gusev, first secretary of the Morskoy party raykom [rayon committee] of Tallinn city, who have been elected secretaries of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party on the CPSU platform.

Correspondent: I want to begin our talk with the fact that opinion is now actively taking shape in the republic with regard to the Russian-speaking group of delegates to the 20th Estonian Communist Party congress which chose for itself a path in common with the CPSU—the opinion that they are to blame for the split which has occurred in the party?

P. Panfilov: That is very convenient for those who adopted the program to reorganize the Estonian Communist Party proclaiming as the party's strategic goal the implementation of the Estonian state's independence and it is in context with the recent events in the republic when "dissidents" who disagree with the actions of the republic's present leadership are to blame for everything.

Yes, we embarked on a split. But after all during the congress we were actively provoked to do so, literally pushed, and all our group of delegates' proposals were ignored.

A. Gusev: As evidence, let's follow the course of events. Even before the congress the draft program for the reorganization of the Estonian Communist Party and the statute for the transitional period for the Estonian Communist Party were circulated among its delegates. At a preliminary conference of delegates in our group the day before the congress we asked A.N. Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who was present: "As a member of the CPSU would you vote for these documents or not?" His answer was unambiguous: Of course not. So, if we had set ourselves the aim of effecting a split we would have risen to our feet at the start of the congress and said: What is being submitted for examination here are not documents of the Communist Party and we CPSU members will not take part in this congress.

Correspondent: Perhaps we should determine straight away who you have in mind when you say "we" and "our group?"

A. Gusev: We are the delegates from the Morskoy and Kalininskiy rayon party organizations in Tallinn City, from the Kokhtla-Yarve, Sillamyae, and Narva city party organizations, and the party organizations of the Estonian maritime steamship company and the "Estrybprom" production association. We proposed discussing these documents but not as a program but as theses of the platform of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee for the 28th CPSU Congress.

Well, never mind, since there was such a program, since there was a new party statute, we suggested on more compromise: For the transitional period, so that we may part with dignity, let us create a coalition Central Committee on a basis of parity. I personally spoke about this with Vayno Vyalyjas, chairman of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. I suggested discussing the following question with the leaders of the delegations: Let the coalition Central Committee be led by the party chairman and two secretaries—one each from the Estonian- and Russian-speaking factions, let's call things by their name—and for instance with 27 Central Committee members on both sides. I repeat this was proposed only for the transitional period to prepare "for divorce." Unfortunately, the leaders of the other delegations refused to hold such elections at the congress.

Nonetheless we agreed to take part in the vote since they tried to persuade us that an independent party had not yet been created, that it would be formed only in the fall and that a coalition Central Committee was nonetheless being created. But even before the results of the vote were read out Jaak Allik, first secretary of the Vilyandinskiy party raykom, mounted the rostrum and on behalf of the delegation of the republic's rural party raykom secretaries read out a statement in which they suggested creating an independent Estonian Communist Party right away at this congress. This statement was immediately put to the vote and the congress adopted it by a majority.

It was after that that I got up and stated that our group, which had taken many steps to meet its opponents, wanted to remain united with the CPSU. And not united with the new independent party. That is why we will continue the 20th congress and elect leading organs.

Correspondent: What specifically is the thrust of your differences with the position of the independent Estonian Communist Party?

A. Gusev: It is contained in three basic elements. We stand on principles, first, of Estonia's sovereignty within a renewed Soviet federation; second, of the unity of the CPSU and, third, of equal civil rights for all inhabitants of the republic without any qualifications. That is all. In principle the congress adopted without our participation a program which fails to consider this.

Estonia's Titma on Independence Moves, Poll

PM2103104390 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 17 Mar 90 p 5

[Elisabeth Nordgren dispatch incorporating interview with Estonian Communist Party ideologist Mikk Titma: "'Estonia Only Free in Three to Five Years' Time'"]

[Text] Tallinn—Negotiations on Estonian independence will be at the top of the agenda after Sunday's Supreme

Soviet elections, but people should not count on the creation of a free Estonian republic within three or five years.

So said Communist Party ideologist Mikk Titma in an interview with SVENSKA DAGBLADET. Titma also said that Estonia can only become really independent economically in 10 years' time.

In Latvia too the people will go to the polls to elect a new Supreme Soviet and thereafter draw up the guidelines for the continued process toward independence.

Mikk Titma called for caution in the forthcoming negotiations with Moscow and considers that the most extremist "right-wing figures" recently elected to the Estonian Congress should not take part.

"The negotiations should be entrusted to those who are used to communicating with Moscow," Mikk Titma said, mentioning as an example President Arnold Ryuytel.

Titma gave no details about what action Estonia intends to take, but takes the view that Lithuania's method of proclaiming its independence is not the best route to consultations with a superpower like the Soviet Union. It is possible that Lithuania could now be the subject of various sanctions on the part of Moscow, he said.

In the run-up to tomorrow's elections Russians have demonstrated their concern over developments. But the Interdvizheniye [International Movement] demonstration in Tallinn last Wednesday [14 March] did not attract as many people as had been expected. According to Mikk Titma, the Russian-speaking population is to some extent tired of Interdvizheniye, which has been accused of provocations.

"The demonstration was, however, a warning to Estonia that the country is still under the control of Moscow," Titma said.

It has also been noted that there are major internal disagreements within the Estonian Communist Party, and at a meeting 23 March a direct split is expected to take place. The Russian-speaking group loyal to Moscow will form a party of its own, while more moderate Estonians and Russians will gather to form a party that will be independent of Moscow. Both President Arnold Ryuytel and party leader Vayno Vyalyas belong to this moderate phalanx.

There is a third grouping within the present Communist Party, called Vaba Eesti [Free Estonia]. To it belong both party secretary Indrek Toome and ideologist Mikk Titma. Vaba Eesti will also leave the Communist Party and begin to build up its own local sections throughout the country and eventually—maybe even as soon as this spring—form a party of its own.

Mikk Titma described Vaba Eesti as liberal with centrist affiliation. According to Titma, the party will pursue pragmatic policies giving priority to practical problems. Like the newly formed Liberal Party, Vaba Eesti supports free trade and a free market economy.

In tomorrow's elections to the Supreme Soviet the People's Front will be one of the major victors. The People's Front is still very popular. "Vaba Eesti is fielding 30 candidates and we hope to have 20 elected," Mikk Titma said.

The Russian phalanx of the Communist Party is expected to have only around a dozen people elected to the new Supreme Soviet, while according to the experts, the moderate wing will have to content itself with five seats at most.

The most recent opinion poll says that only two percent of Estonian voters support the Communist Party—which means that here too the party has exhausted its role.

During our conversation Mikk Titma also mentioned the rumors that the Soviet troops stationed in East Europe will be moved to the Baltic region. Titma does not believe this.

"It is not even strategically wise to transfer these forces to the Baltic states," he said. "The Ukraine is a better alternative. From the Ukraine it is a considerably shorter distance to Central Europe," he said.

Latvian CP Plenum Elects Bureau Members

LD1204194590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1806 GMT 12 Apr 90

[By Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga, 12 Apr TASS—The plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party [CP] of Latvia today elected secretaries and members of the party's Central Committee bureau. However, part of the places in the leading bodies of the party remained vacant, because they were reserved for the representatives of those rayons of the republic whose delegates left the 25th Communist Party of Latvia [CPL] Congress and expressed the intention to set up an independent communist party. Alfred Rubiks was elected the new leader of the Communist Party of Latvia three days ago.

Meanwhile, the situation in the party itself is far from united. During the work of the 25th CPL Congress at the beginning of April, 263 delegates left the auditorium. These were those who supported the ideas of setting up an independent communist party. The rest of the delegates—over 500 of them—continued to work and elected new personnel of the Central Committee. It is true that it was decided to reserve places for the representatives of those rayons of the republic whose delegates had left the congress.

And so, both the congress and the Central Committee plenum of the have reserved the possibility of preserving the unity of the party of communists of this Baltic republic. The delegates who left the congress envisaged the convocation of their congress later this month to institute an independent Communist Party.

Vagris: Latvian CP Not To Follow Lithuania

LD1204112490 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0927 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Speech by Janis Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party, on the first day of the Latvian Communist Party congress in the House of Political Education in Riga—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Now about the external aspect of the process of transformation of the Communist Party [CP] of Latvia.

First, these are the relations between the Communist Party of Latvia and the CPSU, or with that political formation, let us say, the union of USSR Communist Parties which could in the nearest future be formed as a result of the party's transformation. Also, the position of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee on this question has been expressed in the published basic draft of the Communist Party of Latvia program.

It must be emphasized again here that the interests of restructuring and renewal of the Communist Party of Latvia demand an active particiation and furthering of a democratic, legal, and progressive course of this, to my mind, natural and objective process. But we shall be able to do this successfully only if we do not distance ourselves, but, on the contrary, we shall join in to a maximum in the CPSU restructuring.

It is possible that to this end the establishment perhaps of a special Communist Party of Latvia representation in Moscow at the CPSU Central Committee could even be proposed. We would thus obtain additional opportunities for positively influencing and speeding up the process of restoration of Latvia's state sovereignty.

In the long term the Communist Party of Latvia can be envisioned as an independent, equal, and full rights member of the union of USSR Communist Parties. By way of its authorized representatives in the leading organs of the union of parties, the Communist Party of Latvia will also participate in the drafting of political strategy and will coordinate its activity with the other parties included there.

To put it briefly, the road taken by the Communist Party of Lithuania is not for us.

Participation in the union of Communist Parties will not, of course, exclude an opportunity for all-round cooperation with all the other constructive, political forces, as in Latvia so in the other republics, and thus making our contribution to the development of economic, political, and other kinds of interstate relations on a new basis.

The party's 28th congress will be a significant demarcation line in the restructuring of the entire party. Therefore, the proposals of the communists of Latvia must be heard there.

I think that the above-mentioned conclusions can be regarded as a part of our proposals to the 28th congress of the CPSU.

The Communist Party of Latvia, with the recovery of the status of an independent political party, will without doubt find much greater opportunities for bilateral and multilateral contacts with communist, workers', and other leftwing parties of foreign countries, especially of the countries of the Baltic region. These opportunities will become even more extensive with a sovereign Latvia becoming a subject of international law. I think that contacts of this kind could be very useful to us, because these would enable us to acquire new experiences, to avoid mistakes, and ultimately to add its mite to the lofty matter of bringing the peoples closer to one another.

Comrades, A vivid testimony to restructuring is the formation of a multiparty situation under the conditions of a single-party political system. It is being outlined as the quickest and most prominent in the Baltic republics. I think that precisely because of this we feel the party crisis, which actually exists throughout the country, much more directly and acutely.

An incompatibility of principle of the (?state's) party as the state's structure, as a political structure of its kind, with the model of the society we want to form is at the base of today's problems.

It is not possible to change over easily and comfortably, without painful collisions from such a situation, when the Communist Party was the only political party, moreover a party of the masses, to which a monopoly of power, ideology and administration, in fact, belonged to such a situation when the party will have to prove its quite logical claims to the role of a political leader in society only by its theoretical and practical activity, only by an honest and lawful competition with other political forces.

A peculiarity of Latvian political life is also that the new organizations have formed not only outside the party—and perhaps not so much outside the party as within the Latvian Communist Party itself—to a great extent on this basis.

Essentially, in the Baltic region, at least a year earlier than elsewhere, ideological platforms were forming in the party. Initially we, as it were, endeavored not to see them. On the other hand, we managed by proper appeals to communists in other public-political organizations to implement the party line, but, actually, we left this to its devices. On the other hand, we endeavored to resist obviously sectarian and dogmatic appeals for recalling communists from one or another, or from all the fronts.

Meanwhile, the new activity forms, appeals, and slogans, especially after so many years of stagnation, were stronger than us in taking firm and radical steps of restructuring in the party and in society. Having not found an opportunity to confirm their energy or emotions in the party itself, tens of thousands of Latvian CP members found an outlet for them in the new organizations and movements. In its turn, not having obtained support and understanding on the part of the party, those members frequently were unable to resist the pressure of radical forces, and either took to the sidelines or themselves gradually took a stand in opposition to the party, but, in the first place, to its traditional ideological schemes and organizational structures.

Because of this, I want to emphasize that it is doubtful whether we have grounds for dissociating ourselves from these phenomena in the society of Latvia, of evaluating them only as some kind of an alien, anti-Soviet force, or looking for an image of an internal enemy in the revenge of the former capitalists, and appealing for repressions against it.

We must also assume our share of responsibility for a rapid transformation, in inverted commas, into a loud, anticommunist of one or another party worker of yesterday, or for openly Stalinist activities of some party veterans and functionaries. There is also our poor work with people, first with the communists, dragging things out, an inability to independently adopt decisions, carry out the necessary elucidation work and, unfortunately, many other of our traditional faults. [passage omitted]

PRAVDA Reports on Latvian CP Congress

PM0904095190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Apr 90 Second Edition p 2

[Special correspondents O. Meshkov and I. Podsvirov report: "Sharp Debates. The 25th Latvian Communist Congress Has Begun Its Work"]

[Text] Riga—Latvia's Communists have met for their routine 25th congress at a difficult time for the Latvian Communist Party [CP]. What path is the republic's party organization to take in the future?

The 792 delegates representing the almost 177,500 members of the Latvian Communist Party met 6 April in Riga in the House of Political Enlightenment. Each of them has copies of the draft fundamentals of the program and statutes worked out by commissions organized by the Central Committee with the participation of representatives of various viewpoints. J. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, pointed out in his political report that these documents are a compromise in line with the complex situation within the republic and within its party organization. The Latvian Communist Party has effectively come to its latest congress in a state of near split. It is now experiencing one of the most difficult trials in its entire 86-year history. To preserve the unity of party ranks at all costs but without waiving the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory—that is the slogan which the incumbent Latvian Communist Party Central Committee set communists during the preparations for the congress.

It was noted at the communists' forum that, in working on the documents to be submitted to the 25th congress, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee proceeded from the general thrust of the draft CPSU Central Committee platform for the 28th congress and the new CPSU Statutes. These documents on the whole reveal real new opportunities for strengthening democracy, transforming the Soviet state into a free union of free republics, and also profoundly democratizing party life and strengthening republic party organizations' autonomy.

In his report J. Vagris analyzed the work carried out by the republic party organization's leading organs to implement the policy of perestroyka and the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. This assessment is mixed. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee leadership put forward important and timely initiatives in many spheres of public and economic life. However, there was also self-critical recognition that in a number of cases it did not prove equal to its tasks and so the further implementation of particular ideas passed on to other sociopolitical organizations.

The report and communists' speeches clearly voiced the idea that the republic's party organization must substantially restructure its work in order to have the support of the broadest strata of the population.

The discussion of procedural questions, which dragged on for two hours, showed that the congress' work will take place in a complex emotional and psychological atmosphere. A quite sharp polarization of views came to light straightaway, and ideological and organizational differences were exposed to an extreme degree. For instance, it was proposed that the question of appraising the Latvian Communist Party's historical activity be additionally included on the agenda for the congress' work, but this proposal was rejected by a majority vote. An argument also flared up over whether the congress' working organs should include communists who have suspended their activity in primary party organizations. When passions were running high, one delegate urged his colleagues to stop the "witch hunt" and focus their attention on the constructive problems awaiting resolution.

B.K. Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, is taking part in the work of the 25th Latvian Communist Party Congress.

Latvian Prosecutor Cautions Draftees

PM0604124190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Irina Litvinova report: "Statement by the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Prosecutor's Office has made a statement on the appeal by the Latvian People's Front [LPF] Duma, which contains recommendations to young people to ignore military commissariats' draft papers and not to turn up at induction centers.

In so doing, the Prosecutor's Office statement says, the LPF Duma is urging sabotage of the USSR Council of Ministers resolution on the routine draft of citizens for military service. These actions by the LPF contradict the USSR Constitution and the Latvian SSR Constitution and existing union and republican legislation. "Blinded by the idea of separatism, LPF figures and even some USSR and Latvian SSR people's deputies have, in statements and articles in the media, patently and irresponsibly incited young people to commit a crime against the state."

The Latvian SSR Prosecutor's Office points out once again that military service in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces is the constitutional duty of every citizen of the republic. It cites articles of the republic's Criminal Code, which specify strict liability for draft evasion. The LPF Duma, the Prosecutor's Office statement says, is not bothered at all by the fact that young men will end up in jail if they put their faith in LPF figures. The Latvian SSR Prosecutor's Office described the actions of the Duma and of functionaries of some other public organizations, who are agitating via the media for evasion of the routine draft for military service, as incitement to commit a crime. The Prosecutor's Office appealed for prudence on the part of draftees themselves and for good sense on the part of their parents, relatives, and friends.

RSFSR

More on RSFSR Leaders' Talk With Arctic Delegates

PM2903120990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Mar 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "On the Eve of the Forum of the Peoples of the North"]

[Text] V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium, and A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, had a meeting 28 March 1990 with delegates to the congress of the small peoples of the north.

There were many important and acute questions which were discussed in a heated and interested manner during the meeting. They concerned the elaboration of a new status for national autonomous units and formations, and territories where the indigenous peoples of the North traditionally carry out economic activity, the training of national cadres, the strengthening of the material and technical base at educational establishments, the formation of a development fund for small peoples, and ecology and demography. The main thing is that painful questions were discussed as part of the process of determining the strategy and tactics to resolve them.

It was stressed on several occasions that the rapid industrial assimilation of the North has come into sharp conflict with the traditional lifestyle of the indigenous population. During the intensive working of very rich mineral deposits, union departments have hitherto ventured to disregard the interests and urgent needs of the small peoples and their distinctive culture. Over the last few years, despite changes for the better, the social sphere has not been developed in any appreciable way.

The meeting's participants noted that the Comprehensive Program for the Development of the Economy and Culture of the Peoples of the North Through the Year 2005 will be of tremendous significance for resolving the urgent problems of the peoples of the North. The RSFSR Council of Ministers and the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] have already elaborated a draft program. It considers the aspirations of the indigenous population, the fundamental interests of the territories' comprehensive development, and social priorities. The draft will be discussed at the congress. There is confidence that a truly "effective" document will be obtained.

Professor Ch.M. Taksami, chairman of the organizational committee, talked about the preparations for the congress. In particular, he pointed out that the small peoples of the North have formed a mass movement in order to resolve acute and complex problems arising during the further assimilation of the North through joint efforts with other peoples in Russia and throughout the country.

Representatives of all peoples and ethnic groups were elected congress delegates.

The congress will be held 30-31 March in Moscow in the Great Kremlin Palace. The political and socioeconomic position, along with the prospects for the development of the small peoples of the North will be discussed throughout these two days. An all-Russian association will be set up, its program and statute adopted, and its council elected.

Gorkiy Obkom First Secretary Interviewed

90UN1090A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian No 9, 3 Mar 90 p 3

[Report on an interview with G.M. Khodyrev, first secretary of the Gorkiy Oblast CPSU Committee, member of the CPSU Central Committee Bureau for Russia by V. Ionov: "Spiritual Freedom"; date and place not specified.]

[Text] The party and the intelligentsia.... Their relationship in the history of our country has been complex and at times dramatic. The need for specific suggestions follows after a period of grasping and analyzing mistakes and distortions. The opponents themselves feel that a dialogue is necessary. It becomes apparent in the course of these dialogues how all of us have changed and how our hopes for the future have been reinforced. Today, Gennadiy Maksimovich Khodyrev, first secretary of the Gorkiy Oblast CPSU Committee, member of the CPSU Central Committee Bureau for Russia shares with us his thoughts about the future of the party and the intelligentsia.

[Ionov] Gennadiy Maksimovich, this is how I would like to begin. Somehow, the February plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in which you participated was immediately termed a turning point in the party circles. Are we not returning in this instance to our old practice when individual years were in turn "decisive" and "determining," and CPSU plenums and congresses "historic?" Meanwhile, the plenum of the spring of 1985 turned out to be merely the April plenum though it was exactly the one which revolutionized many of our views by leading the way in perestroyka.

[Khodyrev] Of course, time offers the most precise definition of events. However, I agree with the characterization of the last plenum as a turning point because at the plenum the Central Committee indeed turned to the party, to its tremendous mass, to appreciating its significance and power. Perhaps, for the first time the composition of participants in the meeting and the spectrum of opinions were that broad. Their points of view clashed; correct solutions were sought; extensive and free debate took place in which workers, scientists, representatives of the creative-arts intelligentsia, and major economic functionaries participated along with professional party functionaries. The decisions of the plenum are also a turning point in the life of the party and the country. The goal of the CPSU was determined—to lead our society toward humane, democratic socialism; in the course of it, the vanguard role of the party is not set forth in the law but is due to its policy, intellectual level, and moral authority. This is exactly what the adopted draft Platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th Congress is about.

[Ionov] The fact of a decline in the prestige of the party among the intelligentsia, declining subscriptions to the main party publications, growing numbers of scientists and creative-arts personalities in the ranks of informal organizations—all of these are, as they say, the reality of our time. Why do you think this is happening?

[Khodyrev] Perhaps, because the intelligentsia has always responded more keenly to all processes in our society, including the ones it has been gradually preparing itself. Perestroyka is no exception. Indeed, the party initiated and headed perestroyka. After all, the CPSU is not some entity outside of society and its intelligentsia. This means that we initiated and continued perestroyka together, and that we are now plunging together into the depths about which we, to my mind, knew little initially. We said: "We want to know all there is to know about our history without omissions!" We opened up the layers of history and saw that in some of them we might choke.

The people came along who began a quite unfair division into "your deeds" and "our deeds." The bright points of history, they say, are ours. Meanwhile, you, the party, if you are the leading and guiding [force of our society], should assume responsibility for the distortion of collectivization, the suffering of the builders of the White Sea Canal, and unbridled repressions. However, is it legitimate to detach the party from the achievements which we do have, no matter what they say, while pinning on it all the crimes of Stalinism and outrages of the stagnation epoch without exception? After all, at present the party stands for 20 million toilers in all sectors of the national economy, all spheres of science and culture. Thousands upon thousands of selfless and most honest people have been communists throughout our history.

Innocent party members who were shot and sent to camps were also among them. Should we also pin on them the acts of lawlessness perpetrated in our country? This is what I ask myself, and I think that it might be better for us to say: "All of this happened to **us**; we don't want this anymore, and we will not let this happen!"

I would not view the intelligentsia as something unified and indivisible. After all, it is heterogeneous, too. It includes an elite of sorts; you would understand that I am not referring to their positions but to the originators of ideas in the sphere of science, in art, and in philosophy. There is a mass of common toilers in the field of intellectual life of our society. Like in any other sphere, there are people who missed the boat somewhere: Their talent did not become fully apparent or, perhaps, there was not any but it seemed so to the person.... Incidentally, as I have seen, the party is criticized most vociferously in this, let us call it the third, stratum.

[Ionov] I would not reduce the harsh criticism heard at present to the voices of unlucky intellectuals. You are a USSR people's deputy and you know better than I do the kind of forces assembled in the Interregional Group of Deputies. After all, their criticism can hardly be regarded as mild.

[Khodyrev] Indeed, not all of these deputies are diplomatic, and they make no special effort to mince words. However, the basis for this criticism is constructive. Many of these people understand their own responsibility for the past and for the current events. Besides, I would not like to reject flatly criticism by those who have not found their place yet. It also contains a grain of truth, and the latter should be extracted in order to learn to evaluate properly what is happening to us. In this matter, it is important to learn how to listen to each other. I believe that such a relationship between the Gorkiy Obkom and the intelligentsia of the city and the oblast is now emerging. There is criticism, there are sharp words, but there is no antagonism, and this is a good foundation for pooling our efforts. At present, the party is giving up unsound quotas though it probably must and will regulate the growth of its ranks and their qualitative composition. What can we say about the intellectual potential of the party? Let us look at our Gorkiy Oblast. Communists account for about 12 percent of the adult population of the oblast. Their share among the working class is about the same. Meanwhile, CPSU members account for 51 percent of college instructors. There are 66 percent of communists in the writers' organization, 26 percent among artists, 27 percent among theater personalities, and 32 percent among composers. If we want to take a broad view of life and approach its processes in a scientific manner, the influx of intellectual forces to the party should not come to an end because these very forces are capable of assimilating various points of view, generating ideas, coming up with sound solutions, and developing full-fledged program documents. As we can see, this potential is quite sizable at present as well. However, I am in favor of enhancing it further. This, however, is not at all to say that every intellectual needs to be in the party by virtue of this social attribute alone.

[Ionov] I believe that there are grounds for the emergence of other political parties in our country because they are created and exist in order to express and protect the interests of certain social groups.

[Khodyrev] You are referring to social groups. Is this to say that we will create a party of the creative-arts intelligentsia, a party of cooperative members? Of course, the one-party system is not a sacred cow which is inviolable but a multi-party system is not a panacea for all our troubles either.

It is not the number of parties that is essential but the degree to which a society is open to the statement of free will and exchange of ideas. I believe that the reserves of the CPSU in this matter are only beginning to become apparent. I agree that the party is lagging in the development of internal democracy, in unfettered thought, and, consequently, in the promptness of making certain decisions.

The old statute and a mass of instructions which have now become useless and by which we continue to live due to party discipline get in the way. However, these are withering fetters. I hope that we will extricate ourselves from many of them in the course of the pre-congress discussion. What our statute and our party will be depends on us. Let us be patient about this until the congress. Proceeding from the Marxist postulate that development advances only through the struggle of contradictions some people say: Let us foster contradictions in order to speed up the development of democracy. I think that at present we lack exactly the second aspect of the dialectical process, the unity of contradictions, the consolidation of forces, including intellectual forces.

[Ionov] Recently, before our conversation, I asked one professional party functionary: Does the party apparatus belong to the intelligentsia or not? He answered firmly: "No. The apparatus is what it is." What would you say?

[Khodyrev] It belongs to the intelligentsia, but, unfortunately, mostly to the technical intelligentsia. We have populated the offices with engineers, technical employees, agricultural specialists, and, less frequently, economists. At best, teachers came to manage ideology.

Writers and personalities from science, theater, and other spheres of manifestation of the human spirit appeared only in elected organs and in very limited numbers, for show rather than in order to specifically influence work. This distortion could not but affect the inner culture of the party committee itself and the standard of spiritual development of the region it led. I am not referring solely to the city of Gorkiy and the oblast despite examples being right at hand. It will suffice to look at how much Nizhniy Novgorod, one of the most beautiful and majestic cities of Russia, has lost and what it has acquired in the time it has been the city of Gorkiy, to see what the condition of its museums and libraries is, what hall its symphony orchestra gets to play in, or, say, how the Theater of Comedy exists in order to understand how much has been lost due to the spiritual sphere—how should I put it mildly—being relegated to a secondary position.

[Ionov] Are party functionaries and the people of creative, artistic labor compatible at all? Are they capable of understanding each other?

[Khodyrev] I understand that the issue is being raised in a broader manner: How did the party functionaries get their right to order the artists about and tell the creators what to create, and the viewers and the readers what to see and to read? To my mind, this was due to ignorance; if we were to look for the roots of this phenomenon, they are found in the post-Lenin years when the party began to act as a "sacred order" and its apparatus as the all-knowing enforcer of the ironclad statute of this "order." Those who held lower ranks emulated the "leading figure" which was not too difficult to do. I believe that these were the origins of the suppression of all dissent.

After all, it is easier to ban things than argue for your point of view in an eventual debate. Consequently, it is better to prevent a debate altogether. When the circumstances called for arguments nonetheless, a campaign was mounted, and an environment was created in which the official opinion was "approved" and the opposite opinion was denounced. It makes no sense to look for the truth in such campaigns; it was stamped out completely.

It would be unsound to say that in the years of perestroyka we have gotten rid of the functionaries of this school. The manifestations of omniscient airs and incompetent but nonetheless unconditional "instructions" do recur from time to time. We combat this. However, this process is not easy or rapid either. I believe that in this matter broad-scale democratization of the entire life of the party and the creation due to it of a situation such that no soil is left for such "weeds" to sprout on is the most effective means rather than "weeding" from the top.

[Ionov] I recall one of the recent party obkom plenums when the secretary of a party committee at a large institute of the Academy of Sciences was forced to justify himself before the unapproving buzzing of the auditorium by saying that, supposedly, the scientists are such people that they think about everything in ways different from those of others. If a scientist thinks so in the field of physics why should he think "what he ought to" about reality? At the time, I noted your response: "Please, go on thinking!" Was this a spontaneous reaction?

[Khodyrev] Perhaps so. However, I am convinced that only free and unfettered thinking is fruitful. This, incidentally, is quite in line with the spirit of the ideology of socialism which is called upon to ensure social justice and conditions for the free development of every person. To be sure, whether we like it or not, the issue arises of the responsibility of a person for the freedom and rights of those who do not agree with him, his responsibility to society. I am against bans in science no matter where they originate. At one point, we banned cybernetics and genetic research "from the top" and lost a lot in the development of the theory of management, computerization, selection, and so on. At present, we are banning nuclear power "from the bottom" quite as zealously.

We are the proponents of extremes, of forcible "persuasion" methods. Meanwhile, what we need is responsibility, primarily ethical responsibility. We should grasp the consequences of our decisions and actions. This applies to all spheres of human activities without exception, including ideology. The latter is unacceptable in its capacity as a dogma which constrains any movement of thought except the "right" one because it results in more evil than good. Our history exemplifies that. Ideology is necessary as an idea, a sanctifying objective (after all, we have defined the objective of socialism as a society dedicated to man).

However, what are we to do about the propaganda of violence, crimes against morality, appeals to forcibly overthrow the existing system, and the fueling of interethnic strife? After all, such "spiritual manifestations" may also exist. Should we ban them, put an end to them, and "recommend against?" The best way out is to act as is the custom in a truly law-governed state: Everything that is forbidden by law is to be brought to an end in keeping with its letter; the rest is a matter of everyone's conscience.

[Ionov] The issue of the Communist Party of Russia remains acute. Participants in the plenum and many communists are making statements to the effect that the Central Committee Bureau for the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] does not solve the problems of the republic. As a member of this bureau, where do you see a way out?

[Khodyrev] I believe that the Central Committee Bureau for Russia in its current format will not be able to fully justify the hopes attached to it because it does not have the rights which are necessary in order to accomplish the backlog of increasingly acute tasks. I attach great hopes to the conference of the communists of Russia which will be held on the eve of the 28th CPSU Congress and will determine whether the republic is to have its communist party or not. Personally, I am in favor of having it. However, I believe that this still needs to be discussed, and the opinion of the broad circles of communists needs to be taken into account. We should approach this decision on the basis of a democratic process. Life shows that this is the most correct way.

A manifest of sorts of the patriotic forces of the republic has been published. I have read it very attentively and even with prejudice as, perhaps, every Russian; I have agreed with some statements without reservation. However, something could be detected between the lines of the document that smacks of pure nationalism. You know, when patriotism is out of bounds it turns into fanaticism, and the latter is a double-edged thing. I welcome the fanatics of work, and I would like to have more of them around me. I do not accept the fanaticism of nationalists. Alas, the latter is not only squeezing in through the cracks but is trying to barge in through the front door.

Indeed, there is no end to our endeavors, including the restoration of the ethnic element, but we should also be aware of the trends of our time. They are such that the world is opening up, contacts between the peoples multiply and enrich them. Europe is abolishing borders so that a person who lives in one country could work in another one and rest in yet another one. Meanwhile, we are lapsing into independence-mindedness.

We will not solve either our general or strictly regional, ethnic problems by a stroke, thrust, a single blow, or, worse yet, a shot from an automatic rifle. "In this instance, patience is needed." Constructive rather than destructive work is the main point.

New Archangel Obkom Chief Interviewed

90UN1099A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 90 First Edition p 2

[Interview with First Secretary of the Archangel Oblast CPSU Committee Yu.A. Guskov by PRAVDA correspondent G. Sazonov, date and place not given: "There Are No 'Small' People"]

[Text] Yuriy Aleksandrovich Guskov was elected first secretary of the Archangel Obkom [oblast committee] of the party slightly more than three months ago. However, they already refer to his style with respect. For example, at an evening "call-in session" at the editorial office of a youth newspaper he responded to 120 questions from the readers. He proposed that the room for "secret advisers" at the obkom cafeteria be closed, and that the dachas in Chernyy Yar be remodeled into a pioneer camp or an athletic facility. These are merely individual strokes. However, they are so unusual for the citizens of Archangel that many have come to actually feel "the fresh wind" of good endeavors.

At a time when they criticize the party from both the left and the right and when some communists leave its ranks, the acceptance of the post of the first secretary of an obkom by Yuriy Aleksandrovich Guskov seemed, putting it mildly, strange to some people. He worked in Moscow; he held the post of the first deputy minister of the timber industry.... What makes a man change his life abruptly?

This is the question with which our conversation began.

[Guskov] I have been associated with the Archangel North throughout my adult life, for almost 30 years. I came here after graduating from college. I believe that those who can still do something should be in a more difficult place.

[Sazonov] At an obkom plenum, USSR People's Deputy Viktor Gubin appealed to the communists for consolidating the healthy forces. However, to his mind, the leader should observe eight "commandments" which he outlined from the speaker's stand. Here are some of them: competence in the cadre policy, logic and common sense in actions, creating conditions for the advancement of the younger generation, eliminating arrogance, insolence, abuse, and dishonesty from everyday life, and giving up privileges. What is your attitude toward this?

[Guskov] I have known Gubin for a long time. I subscribe to his statement entirely. I also agree with the criticism voiced. Indeed, the spirit of rank-consciousness has not been eliminated in the obkom. There also was a certain confrontation or, more precisely, alienation between the party obkom and the corps of USSR people's deputies from Archangel Oblast. I met with them together with other functionaries of the obkom; we discussed the issues and outlined a number of specific measures.

I recall a conversation with the young people of Archangel which I had recently. The array of interests was extensive: from the positions of particular party leaders to the construction of a nuclear heating plant in the oblast city and nuclear tests on Novaya Zemlya. We cannot shrug this off; we must discuss everything openly and honestly. After all, everything depends on the efforts of us all. There are no "small" people.

I also visited the Dvina farmstead Krasnaya Gorka of the cooperator Nikolay Semenovich Sivkov. Indeed, there still are peasants! This is what I thought yet again when I talked to Sivkov over a cup of tea in his house. Talented and skilled people are still around. I promised Nikolay Semenovich the complete support of the obkom for his endeavors. I am sure that if there were at least 20 to 30 enterprising workers such as him in every rayon everything would be abundant on the counters of our shops.

[Sazonov] We started talking about something and came back to our daily bread. However, bread is not all that the economy of the oblast is about. Yuriy Aleksandrovich, what way out do you see for the citizens of Archangel from their difficult situation or, I will not shrink from this word, lethargy?

[Guskov] It is no accident that we returned to our daily bread: Forces can be rallied only on the basis of genuinely people's, that is human, values rather than promising declarations. Do you remember Pushkin's tale about a fisherman and a goldfish? So, our land turned out to be almost literally in the position of the goldfish. When people looked back they found out that they are next to a broken trough. It is difficult to visualize the tremendous raw material and mineral resources which have been pumped out of the White Sea area over the decades. The state has had considerable currency proceeds from this. Meanwhile, the people close to the origin of the profits were alienated from them and, consequently, from the results of their labor. I have already had to repeat many times that the Gosplan [State Planning Committee] and the USSR Ministry of Trade recognize only two rules of arithmetic—to subtract and to divide....

To be sure, certain things are now changing. Enterprises of the timber industry are given 17 percent of the proceeds of product sales. As soon as last year, many of them spent the currency for purchasing modern equipment, for ecological measures, health care, and consumer goods. Still, this is not enough. I believe that the share of retained hard currency from the proceeds should be no less than 50 to 60 percent.

The main hope of the citizens of Archangel for restoring the economy is attached to the timber complex. As a specialist who has also worked in the ministry I may assure you that the timber resources of the region are used poorly and lopsidedly. I am categorically against increases in tree cutting. We should embark on a different path, that of enhanced upgrading. Here is an instructive comparison. Forest resources in Archangel Oblast alone are greater than in neighboring Finland. However, the latter produces 8 million tons of pulp and better grades of paper whereas our entire country (to say nothing about the oblast)—nine million. At present, the USSR procures as much lumber as the United States whereas the production of pulp is almost six times smaller. Why? In Finland, for example, their own machine building provides the entire set of equipment necessary for the timber industry. Meanwhile we, as a rule, have obsolete machinery and technologies.

Enhanced upgrading means increased production of wallboard, veneer, and parquet which contributes to the social sphere, the market, furniture, and housing. Incidentally, we are doubling the production of furniture; we are building our domestic enterprise and later a factory together with a West German company. We also need small new pulp and paper enterprises rather than the giants which we have in Archangel, Kotlas, and Syktyvkar. Otherwise, we will not get to use the waste of tree cutting and low-grade timber for processing. At present, the timber business is close to being the most profitable in the world because it is based on a renewable resource.

Perhaps, it does not become me, a party functionary, to discuss strictly economic issues at a time of perestroyka; however, the life and interests of the people are directly associated with them. This, in turn, belongs in the sphere of politics. We will lose the confidence of people altogether unless we untie economic "knots" in a timely manner.

[Sazonov] Yuriy Aleksandrovich, as a journalist I have witnessed many times the isolation of party functionaries from the people and their party comrades. For example, in neighboring Vorkuta, in the days of the fall strike, I virtually did not get to see party leaders at the rallies or involved in arguments. They sat it out "in the trenches." I remember how a people's deputy, a communist with a lengthy party tenure, was not admitted to an obkom plenum in Arkhangelsk. Speaking figuratively, will the "shroud of secrecy" be lifted from obkom activities now that you have taken over?

[Guskov] Openness and honesty in everything are a cure for many defects. It is downright outrageous that the doors to a plenum were slammed in front of the deputy. I believe that we should not post guards in front of the entrance to the obkom and keep party archives hidden. Unfortunately, many of such "should not's" have accumulated in the party.

For example, the party budget is a sealed book to the rank-and-file communists—how it is put together and who disburses it for which purposes. Why is this a closely guarded secret? There should not be "a closed zone" with regard to the plenums of the Central Committee. The party needs a mechanism which reliably ensures the maintenance of openness and glasnost which should not depend on someone's whim or will. A new CPSU Statute may very well become such a mechanism. It is necessary to restore in it the Leninist traditions of party character which have been partly emasculated and partly lost.

Let us look at what the life of a "primary organization" is. Every step in it is regimented. There are more "cannot's" than there are "can's." Meanwhile, we still expect of it some results and independence in its actions.

Understandably, we cannot do without an apparatus. However, people need to be selected for the apparatus who are tactful and who know life. My profound conviction is that they should be assigned to the party organizations of collectives from which they have come and be accountable to the comrades who have placed confidence in them. I believe that a provision would be quite appropriate in the new statute which would make it possible for the communists to recall a particular functionary from the apparatus if he fails to cope with his duties or besmirches himself in some way.

[Sazonov] Yuriy Aleksandrovich, it is known that your oblast was affected by the Vorkuta events to some degree. There were disruptions in coal deliveries. Some people also hastened to adopt forcible methods: There were strikes of local significance over poor transportation to the forest for workers, failures to deliver flour to a rayon on time, and so on. What is your view of these phenomena?

[Guskov] Frankly, we are not used to such forms of protest anymore. Still, we should reckon with the strike movement. We should resolve issues rather than evade resolving them. At the same time, one cannot fight for having his demands met, even if they are frequently justified, by undermining the economy and flouting the law.

[Sazonov] Ecology is as much a concern for the citizens of the north as their daily bread. Archangel is among the most polluted cities of our country. Its beautiful rivers are becoming shallow and unattractive. The space complex in Plesetsk is in operation. Nuclear devices are tested on Novaya Zemlya. The tundra is dying.... We can go on enumerating. How is this "pain" to be quelled, how is the health of nature and the surrounding atmosphere to be restored?

[Guskov] Indeed, all of us owe a lot to northern nature. It is time to pay back our debts. However, please understand that we have no right to close down the production of paper, cardboard, and pulp. At a rally in Severodvinsk where I had to speak many times I appealed to the citizens and employees of the Archangel Pulp and Paper Combine for prudence. After all, the issues of ecology will not be solved by orders and commands. The collectives should have an economic interest in improving the ecological situation. Therefore, it is necessary to allocate some of the profit to them for these purposes and make it tax-exempt.

To be sure, this is not done single-handedly. However, I will not conceal that the support both I and the new program of activities outlined by the obkom have been given in the party organizations of the oblast, and especially in the labor collectives, gives me hope. We are going to reinforce economic contacts with our neigbors from Vologda, the Karelian and Komi ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], and Murmansk. From the point of view of regional economic accountability, there is a lot in our relationship that is uncharted territory. Archangel was the first commercial port of Russia. How is it used? It could not be used any worse. That same coal from Vorkuta is taken by the miners across the land, to southern ports in order to sell it abroad. Meanwhile, we are right around the corner. Why spend money unnecessarily?

In a word, we should live constantly feeling the closeness of others. Undoubtedly, we will work and live better in this case. I am sure that the implementation of the decisions of the February plenum and the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform submitted for a discussion will facilitate this greatly.

New Gorno-Altaysk Obkom First Secretary Named

LD0903223490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] An organizational question was examined today at the Gorno-Altaysk Oblast Party Committee [obkom] plenum today. In connection with his transfer to another job, Gusev, first secretary of the obkom, was relieved of his post. His duties have been entrusted to Volkov, second secretary of the Gorno-Altaysk Oblast Party Committee.

Initial Results of Voting in Leningrad Outlined

PM0903160090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Mar 90 Second Edition p 2

[PRAVDA correspondent N. Volynskiy report under the general heading: "After the First Round"]

[Text] Leningrad, 7 Mar—We have just received the latest figures. New elections will have to be held in a minimum of 16 of the city's okrugs. This means that a 50 percent voter turncut, which is necessary for a quorum, was not achieved. As calculations on this point are completed the figure might become more precise.

Altogether around 36 percent of Leningraders did not participate in the elections in the city. But conversely the oblast population proved much more active. Here over 72 percent of the voters turned out to fulfill their civic duty. We should add that only two people received seats on Russia's parliament—N. Gorbachevskiy, chief of the Organized Crime Department of the City Internal Affairs Department, and B. Kurkov, chief editor of Leningrad Television. It is known that as of today only 31 people out of 400 have become Leningrad City Soviet deputies. As for the rayon soviets and the oblast soviet, the picture here is highly complex, and it will take some days for data to emerge.

Omsk, Udmurtiya, Dagestan Election Results Noted

LD1103233790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] We have received reports from our correspondents on some results of the elections of Russia's people's deputies.

Omsk: Out of 83 candidates who stood in 13 constituencies in the oblast, only one obtained more than half the votes. Anatoliy Pavlovich Leontyev, first secretary of the Omsk oblast CPSU Committee, has become a people's deputy of the RSFSR.

Udmurtiya: It is known to date that the voters have shown their preference for only 65 candidates who gained the right to be people's deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic. In a week's time, the second round of voting is to be held in 111 constituencies, while in 24 constituencies candidates will have to be nominated once again and campaigns fought for them in order for voters to take part in repeat elections and to name their deputies in two months' time.

Dagestan: Repeat elections of people's deputies have been set for 28 April in 24 constituencies in the Autonomous Republic, in which no more than two candidates stood in the elections of 4 March and neither one of them was elected. Next Sunday, 18 March, there will be a repeat ballot in almost 50 constituencies in Dagestan.

Repeat Elections Required in Udmurtiya

LD1103092790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Summary] Only 65 candidates have so far been elected in Udmurtiya as deputies to the Autonomous republic's Supreme Soviet. In 111 constituencies, a second round of voting will take place in a week. In 24 constituencies, new candidates will have to be nominated for repeat elections, which will take place in two months. There was a turnout of 76 percent of voters during the first round of the elections. Many candidates from the Party and local soviets lost, but their opponents from the new public organizations and movements which have been formed in recent times did not win a convincing victory. Not a single deputy to the Russian Parliament from Udmurtiya has been elected.

Dagestan Repeat Elections Set for 28 April

LD1103131290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] The repeat elections of Dagestan people's deputies are set for 28 April. In 24 constituencies not more than two candidates contested the elections on 4 March, and none was elected. Next Sunday a repeat ballot will take place in almost 50 constituencies. Details on last week's elections in the autonomous republic and who has become a deputy of its new parliament will be available later today.

GUM Director Said To Buy Votes; Wins Poll

PM1203163190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 90 p 1

[S. Pluzhnikov report: "Campaign Humanism—GUM-Fashion"]

[Text] It all started with a telephone call:

"Agents of GUM [State Department Store] Director Stanislav Sorokin, who is standing for election to one of the capital's rayon soviets, are doing the rounds of apartments and offering voters vouchers for the sale of scarce goods...."

To clarify the situation I had to turn to the Leninskiy Rayon Soviet Okrug Electoral Commission. It transpired that vouchers enabling the holders to purchase scarce goods to a value of up to R500 each were not only being distributed at apartment blocks but were also handed out at Sorokin's meeting with voters.

The electoral commission investigated this incident involving a breach of deputies' ethics and its members were supplied, probably by way of justification, with an extract from a GUM trade union committee document which read as follows, in black and white: "To support the platform of Candidate Deputy Sorokin as regards solving the housing and social problems of the residents of no. 19 okrug—meaning the allocation of R1.5 million for this purpose; to support the candidate's suggestion for improving the supply of foodstuffs and industrial goods to residents, also during the election campaign, at GUM's expense."

The GUM director was cautioned for abuse of office. Under the law "On Elections of People's Deputies to RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Local Soviets of People's Deputies," his candidacy can be withdrawn only if the offense is repeated. Is this not reminiscent of what Bulgakov described as fresh and not-so-fresh (for fresh read honest)—things either are or are not fresh. The outcome was that Stanislav Sorokin gained 183 out of 334 votes, overtaking his rivals—a pensioner, a scientific worker, a sports coach....

Ecological Rally Held in Yoshkar-Ola

LD1003231790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] An authorized ecological rally was held in Yoshkar-Ola today. Taking part were the leaders of town organizations, scientific workers, members of the public, and people's deputies. The main issue was to prevent any further rise in the water level of Cheboksary Hydroelectric Power Station [GES]. Failure to stop this might lead to serious ecological and economic consequences for the Mari Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Thousands of hectares of cultivable land, meadows, and forests on its territory will be inundated, and subterrenean springs supplying the inhabitants of the kray with drinking water will be destroyed. Those taking part in the rally adopted a resolution demanding that the USSR Ministry of Power Engineering should be forbidden to carry out more construction at the GES. It was decided to send the text of the resolution to the country's Congress of People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Gosplan [State Planning Committee], and the Commission for Environmental Protection.

Ingush Autonomy Rallies Continue in Nazran

LD1203225290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Mar 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] TASS: Just as before, many thousands of people are in the town square of Nazran demanding that the Ingush people be granted independent autonomy within the Ingush Autonomous Oblast which was abolished in 1934. The mothers of big families, of whom there are more than 18,000 in the area, are particularly active at the rallies.

The creation of Ingush autonomy is the internal affair of the peoples of Checheno-Ingushetia, the leaders of the North Ossetian and Checheno-Ingush Autonomous Republics noted at a meeting held in Ordzhonikidze. At the meeting, it was emphasized that in examining this issue, one had to proceed from the clauses in the USSR Constitution and the union republics, where it is precisely explained that the existing frontiers of autonomous republics cannot be changed without the consent of the peoples residing within them and of the supreme soviets of the republics themselves. It is, therefore, necessary to display self-possession and prudence, to rebuff different types of rumors and conjectures. At the meeting, additional measures were worked out by the leaders of party and local soviet bodies and bodies of law and order to prevent possible incidents, ensure public order, the safety of the population, and the regular operation of the entire system of vital services for people.

Talks Start on Tataria Roundtable

LD0903134190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Multilateral talks have started on setting up a roundtable of Tataria. Participants in the mass election rallies in Kazan and other towns proposed that it should be formed in the republic. So, representatives of the party's oblast and city committees, the CPSU Democratic Platform, the initiative group of the People's Front, the Tatar Public center, and the Movement for the Radical Transformation of Tataria met at the Palace of Labor. Executives from the council of ministers and of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Tatar Soviet Socialist Republic took part in the meeting. The participants agreed upon the principles governing the formation of the roundtable's work. At present a proposal is being drawn up for the first session of the new republican parliament.

Russian Writers Rebut Charges of Fascism

PM0903101590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Mar 90 Single Edition p 4

[Letter from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Writers Union Board Secretariat: "Who Is Using the Threat of Fascism?"]

[Text] Russian writers cannot fail to be concerned at a dangerous trend which is beginning to be displayed increasingly insistently in the words and actions of certain leaders of informal associations who are attacking Russia and the Russian people with particular zeal. Having gone through the entire possible stock of humiliating accusations, they have approached an extreme. They are trying to accuse of fascism the people who saved the world from fascism. They are turning things upside down, as it were.

The word "fascism" is appearing increasingly frequently and persistently in the mass media, being aired at rallies, and being heard in wrangles in halls that are suffocating in emotional intensity. The growing cult of violence cannot fail to create alarm. And no less alarm is caused by the fact that the concept of "fascism" is being used speculatively not at all in order to condemn Hitlerism. On the contrary, it is virtually being rehabilitated as the opponent of Stalinism. Rumors of supposedly upcoming pogroms against Jews are being whipped up, and attention is being diverted from the pogroms in the Caucasus and Central Asia, which have already resulted in hundreds of casualties and hundreds of thousands of refugees. A Jewish-Zionist congress has been held in Moscow—let us remind you that the United Nations has condemned Zionism as a variety of fascism—while the leaders of "April," addressing an open letter to the Politburo, demand reprisals against whomever they deign to nominate. The demand for reprisals holds first place in all the "antifascist fuss," and Russians are the target of preventive punitive measures both in outlying areas and at the center. Manifestations of one of the most cynical forms of Russophobia are in evidence.

A natural law can be observed: Ideas are worked out in Moscow and passed on to the republics. The synchronous nature of statements is also noteworthy. On 23 October 1989 the economist N.P. Shmelev, who shortly before had proposed setting up an all-Russian extraordinary commission for reprisals against "opponents of perestroyka," announced at a meeting of scientists with M.S. Gorbachev that "a fascist movement has emerged within the trade unions" (see ROSSIYA No. 1, 1989). He did not like the rally in Luzhniki, at which too definite appeals had been made to use the law for the thieves' (shadow) economy. Consequently, he described as "fascists" the working people who were demanding a curb on organized crime. And on 23 October 1989 ATMODA, the newspaper of the Latvian People's Front, carried the article "New Consensus" by Moscow author M. Leontyev under the rubric "Russian Question," presenting it as fundamental. Here Shmelev's subject was applied to Russian writers and scientists.

The author claims that the process of gradual rapprochement between two outwardly quite opposite trends of public awareness, which has been going on since roughly 1986—conservative nationalism and Stalinist-conservative national communism—has in recent months assumed the nature of a rapid consolidation on a single platform. Its representatives, he says, not only "sit at the same table on presidiums and act as a cohesive group in certain publications but have started speaking the same language and have definitively formed a single 'symbol of faith,' concepts, and tactics." He associates the first direction with Purishkevich and sees the campaign to protect historical heritage monuments as an occasion to generate cells of "Pamyat." The other direction is linked with the cult of Stalin, with which are associated both "the championing of the ideas of the purity of Marxism-Leninism" and "propaganda of socialist values and gains."

The two directions come together, according to M. Leontyev, in "the idea of preserving at all costs the moral-political, ideological, and territorial 'Power' ["Derzhava"] as some mystically perceived value in itself. This idea rests on the preservation and strengthening of the 'spiritual values' on which social stability is founded, opposed to the West's decadent influence, to consumer ideals, and to socioclass polarization."

It is "perfectly obvious" to M. Leontyev that the new consensus coincides totally in terms of its ideological substance with the concepts known as classical, orthodox fascism or national socialism." [Quotation marks as published] He singles out "various structural levels designed for consumption by various social groups: the intellectual-technocratic variant for the 'spiritual elite,' the conservative-totalitarian variant for conservative elements of the apparatus and Stalinist and Afghan veterans, and the populist and pogrom-chauvinist variant for the 'people's masses' and marginal strata ('Pamyat,' lyubery [iron-pumping thugs—FBIS]....)"

Realizing that the reader might not believe him, M. Leontyev advises him to read the mentioned (and not mentioned) Russian writers and scientists through a system of distorting mirrors: "Since lies, compilation, and the ascribing of one's own actual aims and motives to one's opponent are the dominant polemical method in the publicistics of this direction, it seems extremely necessary to identify it with real 'fascism.'" It has to be thought that in this case the author was sharing his own experience, his own practice, and that of like-minded people: to lay the blame on someone else. But it is necessary to dwell on what he calls "fascism," since his colleagues keep quiet about this.

The "idea of statehood of value in itself" is unacceptable to M. Leontyev, because, as he sees it, it is "underpinned by the resuscitated Stalin-Mussolini scheme of a hierarchy of interests: 'nationwide-national-group-personal.'" In this the latter are frequently treated simply as "destructive."

We will not discuss here the question of the significance of the state for each individual: It is sufficient just to refer to the thoughts of Hegel and Marx on the conditions of the individual's development and realization. Yet one of the chief theoretical grounds of fascism is Nietzscheanism with its extreme individualism, with its contrasting of the individual and society, and with its inevitable justification of the "right" of one person to live at the expense of others. But individualism leads inevitably to zoologism and racism. Both are being consistently introduced into people's consciousness, preparing the ground for acceptance of the most racist ideas, which, incidentally, are totally alien to Russian social thinking proper.

We hardly need to remind you that society alone elevated man from the animal world and that without society he will revert to being an animal. Spirituality and morality are social concepts. In all times and in all peoples those who have put the common above the personal have been praised. Religions have urged fellow citizens to make sacrifices for the common good, and laws have forced the moderation of the appetites of those who like to live at other people's expense. The essence of man is the aggregate of social relations, Marx will say, and any educator can arrive independently at this truth. It is easy to trace the realization of M. Leontyev's ideal—preference for the personal and group interest—in the practical activities of widely propagated mafia octopuses, speculators, and racketeers, in the tragedy of hundreds of thousands of refugees, and in the derangement of the socioeconomic system.

Thus, the very ideas that lie at the basis of the arguments of people like M. Leontyev are potentially "fascist," and unscrupulousness is inevitable when denying generally accepted moral norms. The internal contradictoriness of such constructions is also inalienable. This contradictoriness tells, in particular, in the assessment of populist movements.

Under conditions of the deteriorating economic situation Leontyev fears "a sharp intensification of the populist component," which will be followed by social demagoguery, "inciting of the masses against 'liberals' and reformers as those directly to blame for the economic collapse, and the intensification of chauvinism and anti-Semitic pogrom sentiments in the spirit of 'Pamyat.'" No other "antis" are of interest or concern to him. What if the "populist component" has a different thrust? Then, apparently, it is quite a different matter. At any rate, this is how this "component" is regarded by M. Leontyev's confederates.

People's Deputy S. Stankevich has repeatedly appraised "his own" Moscow People's Front precisely as a "populist" movement. He is resolutely supported in that appraisal by G. Diligenskiy. Unlike Leontyev, Diligenskiy objects to a pejorative meaning being imparted to the concept of "populism." For it is on just this "component" that not only Stankevich but also the leaders of the interregional deputies' group are counting. But he still fails in this "rehabilitation." He defines populism as "an association of very different social forces with different political and religious convictions, expressing an aggregate of very broad common interests and directed against a single common enemy." This means that the thrust of this "union" is only destructive, and not creative.

Populism does not necessarily lead to fascism, but it creates the psychological basis for it. For the uninformed mass the "common enemy" is the one who is pointed out to them. Leontyev and the "Aprilites"—the authors of the open letter—demand that the authorities take reprisals against those whom they prefer to call "anti-Semites" or "Russian chauvinists." But at the same time they impose the Russian people as the "image of the enemy" on all kinds of "people's fronts." The purely Nazi statement by T. Titma, ideology secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, that "there cannot be equality among all the nations on the primordial land of one nation" has a monstrous ring to it. That statement was preceded by visits from Moscow and statements by frenzied fighters against everything Russian. It was then that the direct glorification of those who struggled with weapon in hand against the Soviet Army during the Great Patriotic War years began in the Baltic region. What is the worth of the fantastic article about "the pure Lithuanian race" that "held sway among the northern peoples" in the "Sajudis" organ SOGLASIYE (No. 3 for 1989)? M. Skruzdel was profoundly right to call Nazi exercises of this sort "zoopsychosis" (YEDINSTVO, August 1989, Vilnius). He is also right to say that "nationalism does not just flare up—it is stirred up."

It is being stirred up not only in the Baltic region. While provocations are being organized at the Central Writers Club with a view to stirring up Russophobia and diverting attention from very acute socioeconomic, political, and national problems, certain republic "people's fronts" led by their populist leaders and by slick operators in the criminal economy have embarked on very brutal pogroms, robberies, and violence. A wave of perfectly real fascism is rising up. It is necessary to stop, above all, those who have prepared an aggressive scenario and who are stage-managing the destruction of a society which has taken shape over the centuries. The peoples must realize in turn that populist leaders who avidly crave power are ready for any perfidy for the sake of their mercenary interests.

We appeal to our fellow citizens and to all the country's fraternal peoples: Be vigilant! Fascism must not pass, whatever mask or guise it hides behind.
[Signed] The RSFSR Writers Union Board Secretariat.

Western Reublics

Ukrainian Constituency Election Deemed Invalid

PM1203154790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent Fedor Chernetskiy report: "Deemed Invalid"]

[Text] Odessa—The electoral commission of Morskoy Electoral Okrug No. 306, which includes the city of Ilichevsk and Ovidiopolskiy Rayon, has examined the results of the elections of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and adopted a decision to deem the elections invalid.

Corrections and erasures were brought to light during a check of the returns delivered from electoral precincts. The commission deemed it necessary to conduct a more careful check using the primary documents.

The ballot papers for this okrug bore the names of three candidacies: O.F. Maryanskiy, chief physician at Ilichevsk Port Hospital; V.V. Pilipenko, chief of the Black Sea Shipping Company; and A.I. Khizhnyak, director of Ilichevsk's "Kvant" plant.

The okrug electoral commission conducted a selective check. This is what was discovered in the opening and controlled counting of the ballot papers for electoral precinct No. 78. According to the returns, O. Maryanskiy received 376 votes, but when the papers were checked he was found to have 417. The "bias" went the other way for V. Pilipenko: According to the returns, 772 votes were cast for him, but considerably fewer according to the ballot papers—274. According to the returns, 508 votes were cast for A. Khizhnyak, but according to the papers 480.

A discrepancy between the returns and the ballot papers also came to light during a check of electoral precinct No. 76. While the poll data relating to the candidacies of Maryanskiy and Khizhnyak coincided with the ballot papers, once again there was a discrepancy with regard to Pilipenko: According to the returns, 397 votes were cast for him, but if you count the ballot papers—just 265. Precisely 133 invalid ballot papers were discovered in that precinct.

The commission's decision to deem the elections in Morskoy Electoral Okrug No. 306 invalid has been reported to the Ukrainian SSR Central Electoral Commission and the mass media.

Roundup of Election Results in Ukraine Reported

LD1203155290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] The results of elections for people's deputies of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] have been collated. After examining the protocols presented by the constituency electoral commissions, the central electoral commission registered 112 people's deputies, elected on 4 March. Elections were held in all constituencies. People's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR were elected in 112 constituencies. In 331 constituencies, in each of which more than two candidate people's deputies stood for election and none was chosen, repeat ballots are being held. In one constituency, errors were discovered when the votes were counted, and the result of the vote is being made more precise. There are six constituencies in which two candidates stood, failed to gain a sufficient number of votes, and were not elected deputies. Repeat elections are to be held in these constituencies no later than two months after the general elections.

Kharkov Oblispolkom Acts on Raykom Corruption

PM1503145590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 8

[Anatoliy Kleva report under the rubric "Direct Line. IZVESTIYA Own Correspondents at the Teleprinter": "Ispolkom Calls to Account"]

[Text] Kharkov—For the first time in its practical work the Kharkov Oblast Soviet Executive Committee [Oblispolkom] has examined cases of abuse of their official position by a group of party raykom [rayon party committee] first secretaries.

In Kharkovskiy Rayon, for instance, a group of party and soviet officials obtained large imported fridge-freezers destined exclusively for kindergartens, schools, and hospitals virtually free for "services" rendered to members of the nomenklatura staying in dachas. Such gifts were also bestowed on people in other rayons in the oblast: Approximately 1,000 ice boxes were carted off to the apartments of senior officials, who were lucky enough to receive them at wholesale prices—they were the object of speculation and transactions outside the oblast. The day before the elections A. Maselskiy, oblispolkm chairman, informed the oblast's working people of the dialogue between the ispolkom and their elected representatives who had sullied themselves. It appealed to them, demanding the return of goods obtained illegally, without waiting for a prosecutor's order. A week went by, but none of their professional colleagues heeded the warning.

The ispolkom made a special point of discussing party workers' excessive keenness on building personal dachas and villas using grants and materials allocated to rayons for the repair of housing stock. It transpired that more than 500 million bricks, along with virtually all the reserves of slate, ceiling panels, and cement, had been used on building them houses... Notwithstanding the most acute shortage of construction materials in the countryside and notwithstanding 150,000 people waiting in line for housing!

The day before the ispolkom session, the oblast's SOTSIALISTICHNA KHARKIVSHCHINA and KRASNOYE ZNAMYA described how S. Moroz, member of Bogodukhovskiy Rayispolkom [Rayon Soviet Executive Committee] and party raykom first secretary, personally supervised while local maintenance workers erected dachas for his colleagues in gratitude for long patronage. Journalists compiled a huge list of private residences which sprang up in the best spa resorts and on the shores of picturesque reservoirs.

Virtually all the offenders are party apparatchiks and deputies. But, as expected, they ostentatiously avoided giving explanations to the oblispolkom. S. Moroz, who was burning with anger the day before over the journalists who had exposed him, also ignored the invitation to attend the ispolkom session and suddenly went sick, like another two first secretaries from suburban raykoms.

The oblispolkom decided to appoint an investigation into each case. The newspaper statements were supported. A corresponding decision was sent to the party obkom [oblast party committee] for the first time in the time of Soviet power.

Election day arrived and, as might have been expected, none of the apparatchiks who had compromised themselves won people's confidence.

The obkom bureau met recently. S. Moroz, who had made a sudden recovery, hurriedly submitted a statement to the session regarding his resignation. People sympathized with him and let him off saying: Go to your rayon and act wisely so that you win support at the plenum. Had a rank-and-file Communist done this, he would have immediately been expelled from the party.

After carefully considering the party obkom's attitude to the newspaper's position, the SOTSIALISTICHNA KHARKIVSHCHINA collective—the descendants of the Bolshevik press in the Ukraine—noted the party obkom's loss of trust and demanded a change in their status. Journalists officially asked for the newspaper to be granted the status of the oblast soviet organ. It is also intended to put VECHERNIY KHARKOV in the charge of the city soviet.

The situation in the country is changing. People realize this. Many party officials, as you can see, do not. The longer they remain in this state, the higher price they will have to pay.

Waning Support for Donetsk Strike Committee

PM0603094590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Nikolay Lisovenko report: "Strike Committee Insists Situation in Donetsk Oblast Starting To Deteriorate Again"]

[Text] Donetsk—After the party obkom [oblast party committee] plenum in February and the Donetsk-wide conference of party organs in which 5,000 people participated, it has been decided to bring forward the oblast party conference to 6-7 April. Until then, the obkom should continue in its current form. Most party organizations agreed with this.

Despite this, the Donetsk Strike Committee began to insist on the immediate resignation of the obkom bureau. The roundtable session the other day in which obkom workers and strike committee members took part was an attempt to normalize the situation. Unfortunately, a dialogue was not forthcoming.

The strike committee's ultimatums about the bureau's immediate resignation were not adopted. The party obkom believed that the Donetsk Strike Committee had moved away from its main task of monitoring the fulfillment of USSR Council of Ministers Resolution 608, and now—at a crucial stage of the electoral campaign—is destabilizing the situation.

In response eight strike committee members announced a hunger strike. Another 27 people joined in it today. They are accompanied in the square by a small but constantly present crowd.

It should be noted that this position of the strike committee members is not supported by most labor collectives. The strike committee's attempt to organize a Donetsk-wide strike has been a failure. Only a few pits have responded to its call. The rest prefer to continue working. And they are stating this loud and clear. The leaders of the Gorlovka Strike Committee wrote in their appeal: "We call on the people of Gorlovka to show restraint, calm, and prudence."

An unsanctioned rally employing the same slogans about the obkom's resignation is now being held in the square outside the party obkom, where the hunger strikers are based. The rally continues, but interest in it is waning. Admittedly, the atmosphere of uncertainty in the city continues.

Mining Collectives Noted 'Working Normally'

LD0403154890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] A TASS correspondent has reported today that all the mining collectives of the Donetsk Oblast are working normally. The passions of the meetings, which flared up especially on the eve of the elections, have quietened down. The strike call did not receive support and according to a member of the strike committee, it is planned to hold a roundtable on 6 March with representatives of the councils of the enterprises' labor collectives.

Rukh Publishes NARODNA HAZETA

LD0603194190 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1945 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Excerpts] The first issue of the NARODNA HAZETA, the organ of Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] has been brought out. It carries an address to readers to the effect that the editors see the paper's task in assisting the development of democratic tendencies in all spheres of our life and the humanization of relations between people of various strata and nationalities that live on the Ukrainian soil.

The paper invites readers to write to the editorial and propose what columns and themes should appear on its pages. [passage omitted] The first issue was composed in Kiev and printed in Zhitomir in a print-run of 10,000 copies.

Moldavian Second Round Results Reported

PM1403112990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 7

[Dispatch by Eduard Kondratov under the rubric "Direct Line. IZVESTIYA Own Correspondents at the Teleprinter": "Moldavia: Second Round of Elections"]

[Text] Kishinev—After the first round of the elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet, the names of just 140 of 380 deputies became known. The runoff on 10 March in practice determined the others. Repeat elections are to be held in just a few okrugs.

As was to be expected, voters' activeness was less in the second round: Every fourth voter did not take part in the elections this time. Voters' passivity was particularly marked in the cities. Nonetheless the republic's Supreme Soviet has basically been formed. We have already reported that in the first round the majority of deputies' seats went to economic, party, and soviet leaders. The same trend emerged this time too. Chiefs of various ranks comprised over 60 percent of those elected. Just eight ordinary workers and collective farm members were elected and there were few women—again, only eight. Not a single All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League member and not a single student became a deputy. The percentage of Communists is high—85 percent—although many party raykom [rayon committee] first secretaries and two secretaries of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee failed to beat their rivals, as a rule collective farm chairmen.

The national composition of the deputies elected in the second round is as follows: Moldavians 72 percent, Russians 16 percent, Ukrainians eight percent. Five Gagauz and five Bulgarians were elected.

And finally, about public movements. The leaders of the "Unity" international movement, the united council of labor collectives of Tiraspol, and, with a few exceptions, the leaders of the Moldavian People's Front collected a sufficient number of votes to win at the elections. Let us note that in the new Moldavian Supreme Soviet approximately every third deputy will represent this latter mass movement.

Boycotts Block Moldavian Soviets' Activity

PM1104141790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Apr 90 First Edition p 2

[Arkadiy Pasechnik dispatch: "Politics: Life or Game?"]

[Text] Kishinev—...Last fall I overheard a conversation on a suburban bus between the driver and his friend:

"I went to see my mother out in the country. When I got there, I saw that the house was locked. Where was my mother? A neighbor told me she was harvesting beets. I drove to the field. What do I see? The beets are dug up and the women are standing in a circle discussing something. I walk up to them and chide them jokingly: What's going on? There you are gossiping and the beets will perish—frosts may strike any day. 'Who cares about beets, son,' my mother said dismissively, 'we are discussing politics.'"

The times are irretrievably gone when politics, as far as we were concerned, for instance, was confined mainly to impeccably stage-managed protests against the latest intrigues of world capital, and when the words "political activity" invariably made people turn their eyes toward heaven. The tectonic explosion of public activeness has destroyed this long-standing attitude down to the foundations—irreversibly, it is to be hoped. The headlong democratization of society, all the rallies, demonstrations, and strikes have swept across the country like a hurricane, sweeping us from the trenches of stagnation. There is no sitting it out.

In Kishinev, which has of late become one of the flashpoints on the Union political map, these peals of thunder rang out forcefully a few days ago in the halls of local soviet organizational sessions—the first since the elections. In a number of the republic capital's rayons the sessions did not take place, and the city session was held only at the fifth, moreover very painful attempt. Even before they had begun to take on the very heavy burden of the present times, the people's representatives split into two irreconcilable camps. One of them demanded the immediate establishment of "cabinets" of local power, referring to the law which stipulates that the first session of a soviet should be held no later than two weeks after its election. The second camp strove with equal persistence to have the organizational sessions postponed to the period after 22 April, when the repeat elections will be held.

"These events are merely a reflection of a very acute and very topical problem of society," I was told by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Chichilimov, a well-known republic sociologist with whom I analyzed the prevailing situation. "More and more new sections of society are being drawn into the vortex of political life. Life means action. And some people are acting—organizing rallies, calling strikes, setting ultimatums, toppling... And all the while they are firmly convinced that they are actively engaging in politics. But is this really so? Political life is a most complex sphere of human activity which, unfortunately, was not in demand in our society until recently. A total lack of appropriate experience and the masses' extremely low political culture cannot be replaced, after all, with even the most radical slogans and appeals. Consequently, it is necessary for us to learn. To learn those very politics which, as is known, are above all the art of analysis, balance, and compromise. Otherwise political life is inevitably supplanted by political games.

It seems that this is precisely what frequently happens in the republic. Especially with regard to the sociopolitical movements in Moldavia which have grown into a major force over the past year. Despite their wide-ranging aims, tasks, and methods, there is something that they have in common in their activities. It is blatant intolerance and an inability to listen to or hear the other side. Is this not why, having repeated the word "consolidation" many times in their election platforms, they have arrived at exactly the opposite result—sharp confrontation between themselves. In informing citizens and the republic about the sessions which have failed to take place, the local press and even official sources refer delicately to some groups of deputies allegedly opposing one another. However, when you see that the Kishinev evening newspaper's list of deputies who have boycotted the rayon sessions contain nothing but Moldavian surnames and, by contrast, the names of those who boycotted the city session are, how shall I put it, non-Moldavian, everything becomes clear. And it is very alarming.

"How are we ever going to get down to work?!"—my old acquaintance, City Soviet Deputy Ya. Mogoryan despaired after yet another thwarted session. "After all, the city with its enormous complex of problems is our responsibility... Meanwhile people are locking horns to see who will triumph!"

Locking horns is what we are good at. However, it is much more difficult to grasp that even an "overwhelming majority" merely overwhelms and so fails to produce real political gain, that civilized political life begins when people begin to understand the main point, namely that in such a complex world as ours conflicts can be resolved only by consensus.

The appreciable deterioration of the sociopolitical situation in Moldavia in recent days and the activation of destructive forces combine to cause special concern on the eve of the first session of the republic Supreme Soviet, due to open shortly.

Incidentally, about the session. A few days ago the new parliament's communist deputies met at the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee. They met to consult on how best to prepare for their first session, ensure that it is held in a constructive spirit, and prevent a split along national lines. And when the esteemed people's representatives emerged from their meeting, a frenzied mob attacked the chairman of the presidium of the republic council of the "Yedinstvo" international movement right there on the steps of the Central Committee building, violating the deputy's immunity in the literal sense of the word and beating the aged professor about his legs, ribs, and head... This is what it has come to...

First Jewish Paper in Moldavia Published

LD1003223690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1258 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Summary] Kishinev, Mar 10 (TASS)—TASS correspondent Georg Mikhaylin reports: The first issue of the UNDZER KOL (OUR VOICE), the first Jewish newspaper ever in the history of Moldavia, is out today. It is issued as an eight-page edition; six of the pages are in Yiddish and two are in Russian. The print run is 7,000 copies.

The first issue includes an editorial on tasks of the Jewish Culture Society of Moldavia, a lesson in Yiddish and a description of some Jewish festivities. Aleksandr Brotdskiy, editor in chief, stressed in a conversation with a TASS correspondent that the newspaper will be covering the social and cultural life of Jewish people and actively fighting against manifestations of anti-Semitism.

Caucasus

Interior Ministry Troops Captured in Transcaucasus

LD1204154390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] We have just received an alarming report from Transcaucasus. This morning Armenian guerrillas seized five Interior Ministry servicemen. The details of the incident were reported to a TASS correspondent by the first deputy commander of the USSR Interior Ministry troops, Lieutenant General Smyslov.

It happened at about 0400 this morning in the Aygepar settlement, Shamshadinskiy Rayon, Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. A bus approached a motor inspection post where two Interior Ministry troops were on duty together with militia officers. The servicemen stopped the bus for a check. Suddenly 13-15 persons armed with submachine-guns and dressed in military uniform burst out of the bus. Having disarmed the unit they attacked the inspection post where several other soldiers were resting. They took the captured servicemen and their weapons with them in the bus in an unknown direction. The local militiamen were released.

Units of the Interior Ministry troops have been sent to the area of the incident, along with special squad members. They have been tasked with resolutely finding the seized servicemen and releasing them.

The provocation against the servicemen is not the first, Lt. Gen. Smyslov stressed. Two weeks ago in Yerevan a guard patrol was disarmed. The armed guerrillas were also operating at night and were dressed in military uniform. We warned the organizers of such crimes that any victims will be on their conscience. The troops will act boldly and decisively, of that no one should have any doubt. On the occasion of this attack the most serious measures are being taken.

Armenian Ministry Condemns Abduction

NC1304082890 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Statement issued by the Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry; place and date not given]

[Text] A group of armed individuals entered Aygepar village in Shamshadinskiy Rayon in a Ural bus at around

0400 on 12 April and abducted five servicemen of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry troops. The group also seized four automatic weapons and one machine gun and has gone into hiding.

At a time when the law enforcement bodies are taking exhaustive measures to secure the extradition of all Armenian detainees from Azerbaijan, about which detailed information has been published in the mass media, this new action drives a wedge between the army and the people and could further exacerbate the situation.

We used to pride ourselves that the Armenian people always showed gratitude to their defenders and never raised a hand against the soldiers of the Soviet Army and the internal affairs troops during the interethnic conflicts, regarding them as the protectors of their peaceful and creative labor.

This illegal act was committed at a time when the republic's population is responding with understanding to the call by the government and the law enforcement bodies for the voluntary return of stolen arms, explosives, and vehicles. Seven caches of explosives, one anti-hail gun, and 19 all-terrain vehicles were returned only in the past day.

The Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry calls on the population to assist law enforcement bodies in locating the abducted servicemen and arresting those who committed this grave crime. Those with information should report it to the nearest department of the Internal Affairs Ministry or by dialing 02.

Armenian Party Criticizes 'Hooligans' Actions

NC1304093490 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Yerevan, 12 Apr (ARMENPRES)—The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau met 9-10 April and discussed the situation prevailing in Yerevan in connection with the arbitrary acts committed by a group of hooligan elements at the building of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium. The hooligans used physical force and injured G.M. Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other state officials.

The law-breaking individuals committed their improper act on 9 April by exploiting the detention of Armenians in the border regions by units of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry troops and the transfer of their cases to the Azerbaijan SSR procuracy, a development which has already aroused the population of the republic.

The bureau noted that the beatings and stampede on 9 April at the building of the Supreme Soviet Presidium wounds the patriotic feelings of the Armenian people, is directed against the symbols of state authority, dishonors our people, and defames their aspirations to democratize, forge a law-based state, attain real sovereignty, and find a just solution to national problems.

The bureau noted the inadequate work done by the law enforcement bodies of Yerevan and the republic and demanded that the Armenian SSR Internal Affairs Ministry and its collegium take resolute measures to eliminate serious shortcomings and radically improve the functioning of the Internal Affairs Ministry.

U.S. Arutyunyan, Armenian SSR minister of internal affairs, was relieved of his post.

Comrade V.R. Nazaryan, Armenian SSR procurator, was instructed to take the necessary measures to restore order in the republic, defend the legal interests of the population, resolutely obstruct any act aimed at disrupting the law and order in the republic by elements harboring instigatory sentiments, and respond in a timely and firm manner to acts aimed at undermining socialist legality.

The Bureau took cognizance of the statement by the republic's procuracy regarding the institution of criminal proceedings in connection with the attack on the building of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Bureau considered as unacceptable and condemned the measures taken in the republic's territory during which Armenian citizens were detained and their cases submitted to the Azerbaijan procuracy and other operations conducted without consultation with the relevant republican bodies by the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry's internal troops subunits deployed on the Azerbaijan SSR's territory. [Words indistinct] the mobilization of all the forces of the people, maintenance of law and order, orderly behavior, and dedicated work.

Armenian Attacks on Nakhichevan's Towns Detailed

NC2903124090 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1730 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] Nakhichevan—The peace of those who live in rayons bordering the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] has been disrupted since 26 March. After a short interval, the Armenian extremists began to fire on the towns in Shakhbuzskiy, (?Babekskiy), and Ilichevskiy Rayons again. An AZERINFORM correspondent has urged Asker Alekperov, deputy minister of internal affairs of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR], to explain the incidents. Alekperov said:

Shada town in Azerbaijan's Shakhbuzskiy Rayon has been fired on from Dostlu town in Armenia's Azizbekovskiy Rayon for two days now. On the first day a two-hour atack by Armenian bandits was repulsed with the help of militia workers. Stronger this time, the extremists resumed their attacks on 27 March. They opened fire on the unarmed people using guns, [word indistinct], and automatic arms. This time the bandits were repulsed with the help of troops from the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry. Six people were wounded in Shada town, two of them seriously.

The Armenian extremists fired on the (?Lower and Upper Burkhov) town in (?Babesskiy) Rayon and on (?Kedabek) town in Ilichevskiy Rayon on the morning of 28 March. During the meeting between the leaders of the Armenian SSR and the Nakhichevan ASSR on the border between the republics, a meeting which was realized as a result of an initiative by A. Dzhelilov, first secretary of the Nakhichevan Oblast party committee, the Azerbaijani side demanded that the bandits' attacks on the peaceful people be halted immediately.

Air Force Urges Armenians To Return Stolen Arms

NC0504141790 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0500 GMT 5 Apr 90

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The Air Force appeal to the citizens of Armenia specifically says: Esteemed comrades, the Armenian people have undergone many trials during the last two years—the earthquake, which killed tens of thousands and destroyed cities and villages; a deterioration of interethnic relations; and finally the refugees. The long-suffering Armenians' wounds are deep. The Air Force fighters showed a [word indistinct] toward all the disasters that struck Armenia.

They were among those who, listening to their conscience and moved by the sense of the military and citizen's duty, appeared first in Spitak, Leninakan, Kirovakan, and in other settlements in the disaster zone. Our Air Force unit personnel [words indistinct] the victims and were transporting medical equipment, foodstuffs, and fuel under very complex weather conditions two or three times worse than normal conditions and permissible [words indistinct]. We left no one in a terrible situation. We also [words indistinct] during the ethnic crisis in the region. The personnel constantly guarded the border between Armenia and its neighboring republic and in Nagorno-Karabakh, took the wounded to Yerevan hospitals and transported foodstuffs and medicines to Nagorno-Karabakh. We were not untouched by the bitter fate of the refugees and (?showed) moral and material assistance to thousands of Armenians.

However, our endeavors have been forcibly disrupted recently. Irresponsible people have stolen large quantities of arms and ammunition. We regard this as a crude provocation, aimed at sowing mistrust between us and the Armenian people and at intensifying antiarmy sentiments. The Air Force unit personnel appeal to the citizens of Yerevan and the republic to display the prudence that is characteristic of the Armenian people and help in every way possible for the return of the [words indistinct] arms which are necessary for the soldiers to discharge their military duties.

The paper has published the full text of the appeal of the personnel of the Air Force unit.

Further on Movsisyan's Speech at Plenum

NC0904101790 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 8 Apr 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The press has published the speech delivered by Vladimir Movsisyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, at the 6 April plenum.

In his address he said: The situation we face requires a new quality of national unity and concordance. Because of the historical fate that has befallen our people, today the Armenians are divided into three parts: Armenia and Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast], internal diaspora [Armenians in the Soviet Union outside Armenia], and external diaspora. National unity will occur when these three parts join. Our worldwide dispersal must be transformed from a national weakness into a strenghth. This could be achieved if our ties with the internal and external diaspora are rendered more organic.

Today, the need to convene a pan-Armenian congress has come to a head. This congress will have to formulate a joint program for national unity and renaissance. Our people cannot and should not renounce the mandatory orientation it has forged through centuries of experience. However, the reciprocal ties with the Russian people and with the other peoples of our country will be infused with new content, and we must approach these relations with the serious knowledge of the interests of the Armenian people and with dignified posture.

I am fully convinced, continued the newly elected [first] secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, that we will succeed only when each person truly realizes the importance of his labor within the general endeavor, transcends personal and group interests, and partakes in his people's anguish and concerns. Today, these are not mere empty words; this is our only path, noted Vladimir Movsisyan.

Soldiers Report Army Post Fired on in Azerbaijan

LD1204225090 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] A complex situation prevails in the rayons of Azerbaijan that border on Armenia where the state of emergency has been introduced. Shots have been heard there over the past few days. Here is a report by our correspondent Leonid Lazarevich.

[Lazarevich] Yes, unfortunately, exchanges of fire and shots are far from rare here, and something extraordinary even for these parts took place recently. An army post—the post that is located on the border—was fired on. Please tell us how it happened. Please introduce yourself.

[Bublik] I am Private Bublik. I am from the town of Nezhin in Chernigov Oblast in the Ukraine. Well, the time was 1355, a change of the guard was being prepared. One man was going off duty and another was getting ready to stand guard. Suddenly a volley of automatic gun fire was heard, and a guard at the post reported: The guard is under fire! A small van from a collective farm was fired at, and instantly the volley automatically was turned on the guards; so they delayed our attempt to post the guard. The van was fired at from two points, and the guard was fired upon from four or five points.

[Lazarevich] I know that you managed to cover the people in the van.

[Bublik] We would have covered but those firing were at such close range that they were firing at the van from pointblank range, and we would not have been able to do anything. For a short while we stopped them firing, they went quiet, and then the fire started again. Here we were confronting not just any guerilla group, but a well-equipped and well-organized operation of properly trained and armed guerillas just like soldiers.

[Lazzarevich] Were the tactics army-like?

[Bublik] One might say army tactics were used.

[Lazarevich] We continued this conversation with Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Nikolayevich Yenegin. Vladimir Nikolayevich, is it true that here you were dealing with opposition from trained groups that are using tactics and plans and working out their operations?

[Yenegin] According to their tactics and the way they operate, it is apparent that there are truly well-trained and well-equipped guerilla groups here.

[Lazarevich] In your opinion was the operation that the lads were just telling me about truly planned? And what confirms this?

[Yenegin] I think that it was a truly well-considered and planned operation to aggravate the situation in this region.

'Provocation' by Troops in Gorisskiy Rayon Noted

NC1304124290 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Report by E. Zorabyan: "Illegal Search"]

[Excerpts] Goris, 12 Apr (ARMENPRES)—The morning of 6 April dawned in atmosphere of trepidation in Goris. A 100-man detachment from the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry troop entered Gorisskiy Rayon from Kubatlinskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan and suddenly appeared in the villages of Shurnukh, Artashen, and Khndzoresk.

Under the pretext of imposing law and order in the region, the troops, accompanied by armored cars and trucks, entered Shurnukh village which had been abandoned by Azerbaijanis and settled by a few refugee families and specialists at Yerevan's "Sevan" scientific production association who were sent there by their collective in accordance with a decision by the Armenian Government.

The soldiers, trampling upon the dignity and the rights of the people, started a thorough search and even smashed doors and windows of empty houses. [passage omitted] After the search they took 21 specialists, including two women, hostage at gunpoint and carried away the clothing, bed linen, foodstuffs, and furniture belonging to the refugees and the specialists. The hostages were kept in the Kubatly military commandant's office for 12 hours and returned only after resolute intervention by the Gorisskiy Rayon party committee, republican party officials, and soviet and law enforcement bodies. Their personal belongings were also returned. [passage omitted]

The armored detachment which entered Artashen smashed a few civilian vehicles in its path and caused considerable damage. These acts by the detachment were accompanied by volleys of automatic weapon fire.

What was the purpose of the soldiers' sudden appearance in Gorisskiy Rayon? Those who organized the attack and the local commandant claimed that their purpose was to inspect identity documents. If so, why did they fail to inform the leadership of Gorisskiy Rayon party committe and the soviet and law enforcement bodies about their plans? Furthermore, does the enforcement of the passport regime entail oppression, the abduction of local inhabitants at gunpoint, and their transfer to a neighboring rayon? If there was a violation of the passport regime the offenders should have been taken to the local commandant's office and not to the neighboring rayon, which is constantly bent upon committing anti-Armenian acts. In any case, according to the provisions of the state of emergency, passport control should be carried out in cooperation with the local commandant. The local commandant, Lieutenant Colonel A.P. Ermolin, has said that he was informed about the developments only after the fact, but his statement is not too convincing. The soldiers stationed in Shurnukh also took no action when the young Armenians were being taken to Kubatlinskiy Rayon.

It is clear from all this that the invasion was a provocation and aimed at further exacerbating the situation in the region.

New Armenian Party Leader Profiled

NC0804094990 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] The press has published the biography of Vladimir Migranovich Movsisyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Movsisyan was born on 12 November 1933 in the village of Shenavan in Spitakskiy Rayon to a farming family. He is an Armenian and has been a member of the CPSU since 1961. He received a higher education and graduated with distinction from the Yerevan Veterinary Institute specializing in scientific [word indistinct].

He graduated from the Higher Party School in 1969 and defended his dissertation in 1973. He worked in his specialized field between 1959 and 1967. Following his graduation from the Higher Party School, Vladimir Movsisyan entered party work. He was deputy chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers between 1978 and 1984 and has been first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers since January 1984. He has also been the chairman of the republic's state agro-industrial committee since December 1985.

He has headed the refugee affairs committee of the republic's Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers since February 1988 and the Operational Staff of the State of Emergency since January 1990.

Azerbaijan's Mutalibov Tours Rayon Centers

NC1304070490 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1730 GMT 11 Apr 90

[Text] Ayaz Mutalibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and Colonel General Shatalin, commander of the USSR Interior Ministry troops, have paid a visit to Kubatly. They had earlier visited Agdam.

Mutalibov, Shatalin, and Polyanichko, who is the chairman of the republic's Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Organization Committee, held meetings in Kubatly, Zangelan, and Lachin and exchanged views on the situation in the rayons bordering Armenia.

Kazakhskiy Rayon Official on Situation Near Border

NC0604104990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1730 GMT 4 Apr 90

[Interview with Dzhangir Muallimov, chief legal adviser to the Kazakskiy Rayon Procuracy and honorary worker of the USSR Procuracy, by Esad Akhmedov in Kazakh; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted on possible release of prisoners] [Akhmedov] What is the situation in the border rayons?

[Muallimov] Although firing in our border towns has ceased, tension is very high. However, I wish to note that ordinary Armenian or Azerbaijani peasants cannot be blamed for the [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

Sharipov, chairman of the trade union organization of [name indistinct] state farm, called on me some time ago. He (?said that) Armenian bandits were hiding in [words indistinct] to intimidate the people. We held a meeting with the rayon's aktivs and militia workers.

[Akhmedov] In view of the tense situation, have you been able to establish links with Armenian legal workers?

[Muallimov] That is a good question. Armenia's Idzhevanskiy and Noyemberyanskiy Rayons are our neighbors. Apart from some incidents, we had good relations with our neighbors until 24 March. We frequently came into contact with the procurators of the two rayons in accordance with the recommendations of the USSR Procuracy and the republic's procuracy. We resolved problems between the two sides peacefully. We often asked them to reply to certain questions. For example, we asked them why they failed to obstruct the theft of cattle. We have concluded from their replies that they, too, fear the bearded Armenians who have been expelled from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. I believe that the central authorities are to blame for all the hostilities.

Ovchinnikov Notes Normalization in Nagorno-Karabakh

LD0704225290 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Stepanakert April 7 TASS-AZERINFORM—Life in Nagorno-Karabakh is slowly returning back to normal, despite continuing efforts by "destructive forces to prevent peace and calm from settling on the ancient land of Nagorno-Karabakh," V. Ovchinnikov, chief of staff at Nagorno-Karabakh's commandant's office, told AZERINFORM.

Peace-keeping troops in Nagorno-Karabakh were stepping up efforts to prevent crimes and enforce the passport regime in the area, he said.

The military commandant's office makes no secrets of its work and has close contacts with the republican organizing committee on Nagorno-Karabakh, he said. Its work is promptly reported in the local media, he said. The first trains with industrial goods left Stepanakert today, local officials told AZERINFORM.

The volume of cargo delivered to the autonomous republic by train has increased four times as compared with the first quarter of 1989, they said.

Stepanakert's airport and bus service were working as usual today.

A weaving mill has been commissioned in the village of Hadzhaly in Askeran region in Nagorno-Karabakh. It employs 200 workers from plants in Stepanakert. Builders from the Azerpromstroi firm are building new homes for these workers.

The Azerbaijani Government and the republican organising committee are taking steps to improve living and housing conditions in the area.

"The first, very important steps towards peace in Nagorno-Karabakh have been made," Matvey Radayev, deputy Azerbaijani prime minister said.

"I am certain that more efforts will follow to normalize the situation in the area and restore the severed links between Azerbaijan and its autonomous region."

Agenda for Azerbaijan Party Congress Reported

NC0504141090 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 4 Apr 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The decision adopted by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee plenum in connection with the convocation of the 32d regular congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, the establishment of the norms of representation, the holding of the accounting and election meetings in the republic's party organizations, and the election of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress and the 32d Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress was published on the front pages of today's newspapers. The decision stated: The 32d regular congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party is to be convened at the (?Lenin) Palace in Baku on 8 June.

The items included on the agenda of the congress are as follows:

1. The situation of the restructuring course and the tasks of the Azerbaijan Communist Party;

2. The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee's report. Speaker: Ayaz Mutalibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee;

3. The Azerbaijan Communist Party Auditing Commission's report. Speaker: Mamed Kaziyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Auditing Commission;

4. The CPSU Central Committee's platform for the 28th CPSU Congress entiled "Toward a Humanitarian and Democractic Socialism";

5. The draft CPSU rules and regulations;

6. The election of the members of the leading organs of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic; and

7. The election of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress.

You can read the text of the decision on the front pages of the newspapers.

Union Procuracy To Reexamine Tbilisi Events

90US0766A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 14, 4 Apr 90 p 2

[Article by I. Kaplun, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA special correspondent and colonel of legal services (retired): "Departmentalism—the Enemy of Objectivity"]

[Text] **On 29 March 1990 the Main Military Procurator's office held a press conference for the first time (another achievement for glasnost!).**

Among the numerous issues raised by journalists for the chief military procurator—deputy procurator general of the USSR, Lieutenant General of Legal Services A.F. Katusev—there was a question about his attitude toward the distrust of the military procuracy now being unambiguously expressed in connection with its investigation of the criminal case in respect of the events in Tbilisi.

A.F. Katusev replied that this mistrust was in fact voiced in an interview E.A. Shevardnadze gave to the journal OGONEK and in statements made by a number of people's deputies. They accused the military procuracy of a lack of objectivity and of protecting the departmental interests of the Ministry of Defense. A.F. Katusev expressed his attitude toward these accusations in an open letter to E.A. Shevardnadze published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA on 25 March this year.

"Now they are telling us that the military procuracy should not even have been involved in the investigation of this matter," A.F. Katusev said. "But it was a case concerning illegal actions by servicemen, and this is our area of investigation. Moreover, in accordance with the requirements of the law, the military procuracy had to investigate the actions of both sides as one case. But the leadership of the USSR Procuracy decided to split the case (it enjoys the competence to do this), assigning the Main Military Procuracy to deal with the actions of the servicemen, and this we did without any kind of prejudice. BUT NOW I MYSELF ASKED THE QUESTION OF WHY THE CASE WAS TAKEN AWAY FROM US. AND IT WAS RECENTLY ANSWERED. THE UNION PROCURACY SET UP A SPECIAL INVESTIGATING TEAM FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION, which included workers from the territorial procuracies from various regions in the country, including from Georgia."

I think that the decision that was made was quite correct. Formally the chief military procurator is not subordinate to the Ministry of Defense and it is as if there were no dependence between the military procuracy and the command. Nevertheless... Who is it that gives a military procurator his military rank, and on whom does he depend for material and technical support? (Incidentally, A.F. Katusev himself talked about this at the press conference). We cannot, of course, claim that it was precisely these circumstances that influenced the conclusions of the investigation. However, they should have been taken into account right from the start, thus avoiding the danger inflaming of passions. It has been known for a long time that departmentalism is the enemy of objectivity. And in this case objectivity and lack of prejudice were particularly essential.

Georgian Research Atomic Reactor Shut Down

LD0604175290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Summary] In the Nuclear Center of the Tbilisi Physics Institute, the atomic reactor is being closed down. It has been in operation since 1959 and has reached the end of its scheduled life. Measures were considered to prolong its functioning, but these were abandoned under pressure from public opinion. No radiation leaks ever occurred there.

Georgian Culture Society Set Up in Tbilisi

LD2903034490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0130 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Summary] A society called Roots [Tesvebi] has been set up in Tbilisi to render assistance to Georgians living abroad. Correspondence courses in the Georgian language, history, and literature will be organized. Georgian books, music, and films wll be sent on request to Georgians in other republics of the USSR and abroad. The society is also setting up a fund to support needy Georgians living outside the republic.

Central Asia

New Chairman of Tajik Supreme Soviet Elected

LD1204181590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1543 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Dushanbe, 12 April, (TAJIKTA-TASS)—Today in the capital of Tajikistan, the first session of the newly elected parliament of that Soviet Central Asian Republic commenced with sharp discussion on the candidacy for the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

After lengthy debates, Kakhar Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party's Central Committee, and Gaibnazar Pallayev, chairman of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet of the previous convocation, were included in the lists for a direct and secret ballot.

According to the data of the Tellers' Commission, Kakhar Makhkamov was elected chairman of the Tajik Parliament. He received 162 votes—three-quarters of the body of deputies. The second candidate gained 62 votes.

The session continues its work. In the days to come, the people's parliamentarians are to form the composition of a new republic government; to adopt a number of major draft laws, notably on making changes and addenda to a number of articles in the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic's Constitution about issues involving the political system and on liability for destabilization of the sociopolitical situation in the republic; and to examine the way the law on the state [Tajik] language, which was passed by the previous body of deputies, is being implemented.

Issues connected with the socioeconomic development of the republic are also to be examined.

Turkmen Farmers Request Access to Border Zone

PM1204150190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Apr 90 First Edition p 8

["Point on the Map" report by PRAVDA correspondent M. Volkov: "Shifting the Border"]

[Text] Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]—The resort town of Firyuza is near Ashkhabad. In the unbearable summer heat, when the temperature reaches 45 degrees in the shade, it is the only place you can find a cool refuge—in the shade of the mighty plane trees, on the banks of a mountain stream.

Two roads lead there—the low road weaves its way through a picturesque narrow gorge, and it is unsafe. The high road also passes through a gorge, but a much wider one, without sudden sharp turns. But the high road is inaccessible to tourists and Pioneer groups: It is vigilantly guarded by a border detail, because it passes through the control zone which for us embodies the USSR State Border. Further on, beyond the barbed wire, you have Iran.

But is that actually the case? By no means. It is not Iran beyond the control zone, but the border guards' domain. An extensive area, in places up to 30 km wide. Well, quite recently that was necessary, but not so today. Now more and more people are interested in having good-neighborly relations and reliable trade links with neighbors. The construction of a railroad between Tedzhen (USSR) and Mashhad (Iran) has been started, and the highway is being revived. A border merchant's center has been opened in Kushka. The customhouse is being restored. Moreover, people have remembered that they have close relatives living in border areas and that it is time they saw one another. Indeed, hundreds of thousands of Turkmenians have settled in Iran and Afghanistan.

Yet the inhabitants of Turkmen border areas are becoming increasingly insistent in asking the reasonable question: When will the fertile lands lying beyond the first control zone finally be restored to the national economy? At a recent session of the new Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet, republic Council of Ministers Chairman Kh. Akhmedov gave an explanation: The government is studying the problem and will try to resolve it in conjunction with union organs.

"It is certainly a paradoxical situation," R. Dzhumayev, deputy chief of the Turkmen Council of Ministers Agroindustrial Sectors Department, told me. "Judge for yourself. For example, a large part of the land on the Kerki State Forestry Establishment, over 20,000 hectares, lies beyond the border fortifications. The splended pistachio groves are bearing fruit, but it has been impossible to harvest the rare medicinal nuts—because of the border... And it stretches on our side for nearly 2,000 km."

What is the republic Council of Ministers doing about it? You have to give the government its due: It has acted promptly, not hastily, without fuss, in a calm and businesslike manner. It found a common language with the the Central Asian Border District Directorate, which helped it compile a map of the land enclosed by the control zones. The "Turkmengiprozem" institute surveyed nearly 1 million hectares of land "across the border" and established that it was mainly grazing land—splendid grazing land, in fact.

The institute's recommendation was that around 100,000 hectares in Gasan-Kuliyskiy, Kizil-Atrekskiy, and Serakhskiy Rayons can be cultivated and used for growing vegetables and melon crops. And the piedmont zone is made for fruit growing.

Of course, "Turkmengiprozem" would not be able to do the job that quickly alone. Leaders of local soviets and farms, sovkhoz [state farm] and kolkhoz [collective farm] specialists, and officers in border posts came to the rescue. There was a constructive dialogue at joint conferences in all the border rayons. We are still awaiting the Council of Ministers' final verdict, but the farmers have the goodwill of the military and have a pretty good knowledge of the land beyond the barbed wire. Incidentally, in the past the border guards did not always obstruct the livestock raisers—as long as they were not jeopardizing the protection of the state border, of course. The local people are also displaying restraint. They realize that a border is a border. But in many rayons there have been compromise decisions, based on common sense. Above all, the farmers want the unimpeded grazing zone to be expanded. This is understandable: Grazing land in the hot republic is like gold dust, and the livestock raisers want to achieve total meat autonomy and ensure an annual increase in head count. Where this does not get in the way of guard activities it is intended even to sow crops—something the most enterprising leaders have already done, incidentally. For example, for some years now Yu. Valiyev, chairman of the Kizil-Atrekskiy agro-industrial association, has been growing agricultural crops beyond the border fortifications. And everything seemed fine, except that the porcupines were making mischief—they were all over the place. Yu. Valiyev asked the border guard to take a look at the crops now and then...

"I think the union organs support us," R. Dzhumayev brought the conversation to a close. "I hope that in the very near future we will obtain excellent grazing for livestock and good pasture. But first of all we must protect the land against ill use, in particular the reserve areas. Poachers and self-seekers must never be allowed to set foot in them. After all, the border guards have basically kept this land for us in its primordial form, with its rich vegetation and fauna. As for the border, we will make a concerted effort to protect it."